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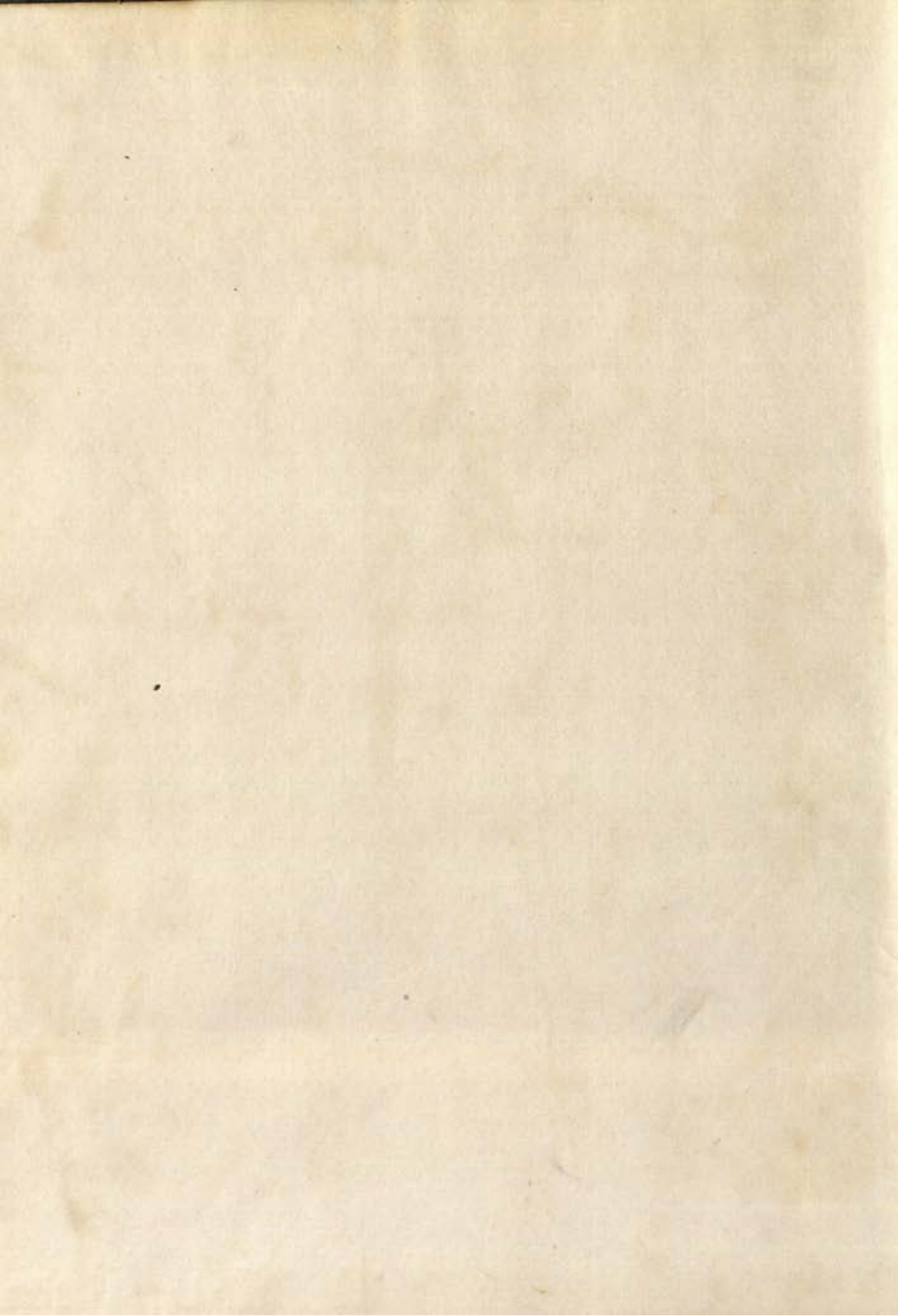
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*Grey Granite*

HEAD OF KING OSORKON II

*University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia*

*University Museum E 16199*



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
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## EDITORIAL FOREWORD

THE past year has seen the organizing of an international programme for the exploration of ancient sites in Egyptian and Sudanese Nubia that are threatened with permanent flooding by the waters of the High Dam scheme. In answer of the general appeal by U.N.E.S.C.O. the Society has prepared plans for work on a number of sites in Egypt and Nubia. In Egypt Professor Emery will excavate at Qaṣr Ibrīm and Professor R. A. Caminos will copy the texts and scenes in the Eighteenth Dynasty shrines at the same place; it is also hoped to carry out a general archaeological survey of Egyptian Nubia under the supervision of Mr. H. S. Smith. In the Sudan, Professor Emery will continue the Society's work at Buhen and Professor Caminos will copy the scenes in the South Temple there.

During the season 1959-60 work at Buhen was again directed by Professor Emery, assisted by Mrs. Emery, Mr. H. S. Smith, Mr. E. Uphill, and Mr. B. G. Haycock. A brief account of the season's work appears in the Annual Report of the Society for 1959. Here we may note some of the principal results achieved. A large gatehouse of New Kingdom date on the west side of the town was cleared and planned. Two arterial roads crossing the town within the fortress walls from west to east were discovered; these roads were stone-paved and a drain ran along the centre of each. The northern road, which was completely cleared, proceeds to the river, terminating in a well-preserved water-gate. About three-fifths of the town area has now been cleared, and in the southern district many large dwellings, originally built for senior officials and officers, were uncovered. Further sections of the wall of the fortress on the north side were excavated, revealing more well-preserved Middle Kingdom fortifications beneath the New Kingdom wall.

In accordance with a general rule of the Sudanese Antiquities Service the preliminary reports of the work at Buhen are published in *Kush*, the journal of that organization. An account of the season 1957-8 can be found in *Kush* 7; the report for 1958-9 will appear shortly in *Kush* 8, and a further report for 1959-60 is ready for publication in *Kush* 9.

Earlier this year we heard with sorrow of the death of a great and generous friend, Mr. John D. Rockefeller. Sir Alan Gardiner writes:

By the death of John D. Rockefeller Jr. at a ripe old age Near Eastern Archaeology has lost by far its greatest benefactor. That his almost boundless wealth should have found so far-sighted and idealistic an adviser as James Henry Breasted is a piece of good fortune for which we cannot be too thankful. It was as a result of Breasted's personal application that the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago was founded in 1919, but it was not until after his trip with Mr. Rockefeller up the Nile in 1929 that the latter's accumulated gifts made possible the Institute's full programme of expeditions and other enterprises. Meanwhile however, Mr. Rockefeller, again at Breasted's instigation, had planned two great benefactions of which one, the building of a much-needed new Museum for Cairo, came to nothing through the refusal of the Egyptian Government to accept it,



while the other, the gift of a Museum to Jerusalem, was gratefully welcomed and has proved an inestimable benefit. Shortly after the conclusion of the First World War Breasted and I embarked upon a joint publication of the Egyptian Coffin Texts, an extensive task which, subsequently carried on under the aegis of the Oriental Institute, found its completion only shortly before the regretted death last year of A. de Buck, its final editor. It was whilst I was engaged on this work in the Cairo Museum that my ever closer co-operation with Breasted brought me into direct contact with Mr. Rockefeller. At Abydos he had greatly admired the talent of the late Miss Calverley, then already engaged on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Society in reproducing the splendid reliefs in the temple of Sethos I, and it needed but little advocacy on our part to induce him to grant the funds which have resulted in the four stately folios which are the pride of our Society. Another large subsidy accorded to me personally rendered possible the lavish publication of Mrs. Nina M. Davies' unsurpassed facsimiles of the wall-paintings in the private tombs at Thebes. What else I have to tell about Mr. Rockefeller from my own knowledge is of too personal a kind to be recounted here, but I conclude this inadequate tribute by saying that I shall always cherish his memory as that of a man of great kindness and true nobility of character.

It is with sadness that we also record here the death of Dr. Ursula Schweitzer, the distinguished Swiss Egyptologist, and of Professor František Lexa, the doyen of Czech Egyptologists whose monumental *Grammaire Démotique* was the crown of a long and fruitful career.

Since 1947 this *Journal* has enjoyed the editorship of Dr. R. O. Faulkner, and it is with regret that we announce his retirement from the office. For thirteen volumes his care and scrupulous attention to all aspects of production have achieved a consistency it would be hard to better. In some ways an editor has to be a dictator and, like dictators with trains, Faulkner (except when foiled by a printers' strike) made the *Journal* run to time. The present volume is transitional inasmuch as many of its articles were prepared for publication by the former editor. He, too, instructed the new editor in the secrets of the trade. The latter sincerely hopes that he may be as fortunate as his predecessor in obtaining interesting articles for the future; he cannot hope to be as successful in other ways. Contributions should now be sent to T. G. H. James, Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.

The news that the preparation of a second edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History* is well advanced is very encouraging. The first two volumes, which are those of greatest interest to students of the Ancient Near East, will be published piecemeal, as chapters are ready. Progress therefore will not be that of the slowest contributor. Here may we wish good luck to the editor of the Egyptological chapters, Mr. I. E. S. Edwards, Hon. Treasurer of the Society and Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum.

#### **The spellings of place-names**

For the sake of consistency may we recommend future contributors to the *Journal* to follow the practice advocated by the editors of the new *Cambridge Ancient History* to use the spellings employed on the maps of the Survey of Egypt (1:100,000 series). These spellings can conveniently be found in Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*.



## THE PHILADELPHIA-CAIRO STATUE OF OSORKON II

(MEMBRA DISPERSA<sup>1</sup> III)

By BERNARD V. BOTHMER

IN December 1926 the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia acquired from a well-known dealer the granite head of an Egyptian king of approximately life-size dimension (pls. I-V). At the time of the purchase no information was obtained regarding the earlier history of the sculpture; the dealer is long deceased. The head was first published in 1934<sup>2</sup> and then again illustrated in the guidebook of 1950.<sup>3</sup> In both instances it was attributed with hesitation to Tuthmosis III or Queen Hatshepsut.

When, nearly a decade ago, this writer began canvassing American collections for Late Egyptian pieces to be included eventually in the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture,<sup>4</sup> the royal head in Philadelphia again aroused his interest. It had been clear for some time that it could not represent a Tuthmoside and hardly dated from the Nineteenth Dynasty either. But at that time we knew little about the iconography of the kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, for instance, and therefore the head had to be considered seriously, if only in order to eliminate it for sound reasons.<sup>5</sup> That the sculpture came from a statue in which the owner was leaning forward had already been recognized by a number of observers who had seen the original or had studied the excellent views taken by the Museum's photographer; the angle between chin and neck (pl. II) as well as the expression of the face left no doubt about that.<sup>6</sup> As has happened in so many cases since, the first task was to identify the period in which the head had been made and then to attempt to attribute it to a definite king. Before undertaking a detailed stylistic analysis, however, it appeared to me advisable to exhaust the archaeological source material at my disposal and to search for a headless, approximately life-size statue in the available collections, in my notebooks, and in the literature.

As luck would have it, one of the first publications scrutinized for this purpose, the

<sup>1</sup> For the first note on the subject of dispersed parts of one and the same statue, see *BMFA* 47 (1949), no. 269, pp. 46-49 (a head of the Chief Steward Amenhotpe in Boston belonging to his statue in Oxford). The second article, in *BMFA* 52 (1954), no. 287, pp. 11-20, dealt with the head of Amenophis II in Boston and his statuette in the Louvre.

<sup>2</sup> B. Gunn, 'A Head from an Egyptian Royal Statue', *The Univ. Mus. Bull.* 5, no. 3 (May 1934), pp. 87-88, pls. 10-11. The accession number is E. 16199.

<sup>3</sup> Hermann Ranke, *The Egyptian Collections of the University Museum* (= *Univ. Mus. Bull.* 15, nos. 2-3, Nov. 1950), title-page and p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *JAOS* 74 (1954), 70. *Proc. XXIIIrd Int. Congr. of Or.* (1954), 69-71.

<sup>5</sup> The same consideration led to the identification of a royal head in Boston as Amenophis II and the eventual discovery of the inscribed body in Paris. The head had been regarded as Ptolemy III for half a century before this attribution was critically examined; see above, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> The first to state this in print was B. Gunn, *op. cit.*, p. 88, followed by H. W. Müller in his review of Ranke's guidebook, in *Bi. Or.* 10 (1953), 32.



*Catalogue Général*, seemed to contain the missing statue under number 1040<sup>1</sup> (pl. VI, 1). Dimensions, material, and attitude appeared to be correct; the inadequate illustration, however, made it impossible to be certain. It was not until the fall of 1954 that the opportunity arose to examine the original in the Cairo Museum, and two helpful factors immediately became noticeable: namely, the slant of the break at the neck and the unusually large number of sizeable white quartz crystals with which the granite is speckled. Since both head and statue showed 'clean' breaks, i.e. breaks that had not been tampered with, a cast was made of the break of the Philadelphia fragment and tried on the neck of the Cairo statue. It slipped into place with perfect ease, and thus it became certain that the head indeed had once belonged to the statue although it is impossible to state when it was severed since at the time of its discovery the torso was already headless.<sup>2</sup> Then the entire Philadelphia head was reproduced in plaster and the cast shipped to Egypt where it was briefly shown in position on the statue<sup>3</sup> and, on behalf of the University Museum, presented to the Cairo Museum in October 1955 (pl. VI, 2). A few months later the then Director of the Cairo Museum, Dr. Abbas Bayoumi, had the cast of the Philadelphia head mounted in a special case on the wall directly above the sculpture, and since then a facsimile of the king's likeness can be seen in close proximity to the statue of Osorkon II.<sup>4</sup>

Before going into details of modelling and style, let us first consider the statue as a whole. It represents a king, by the inscription identified as Osorkon II (860-832 B.C.) of the Twenty-second Dynasty, in the act of proffering an inscribed slab, a stela, in a

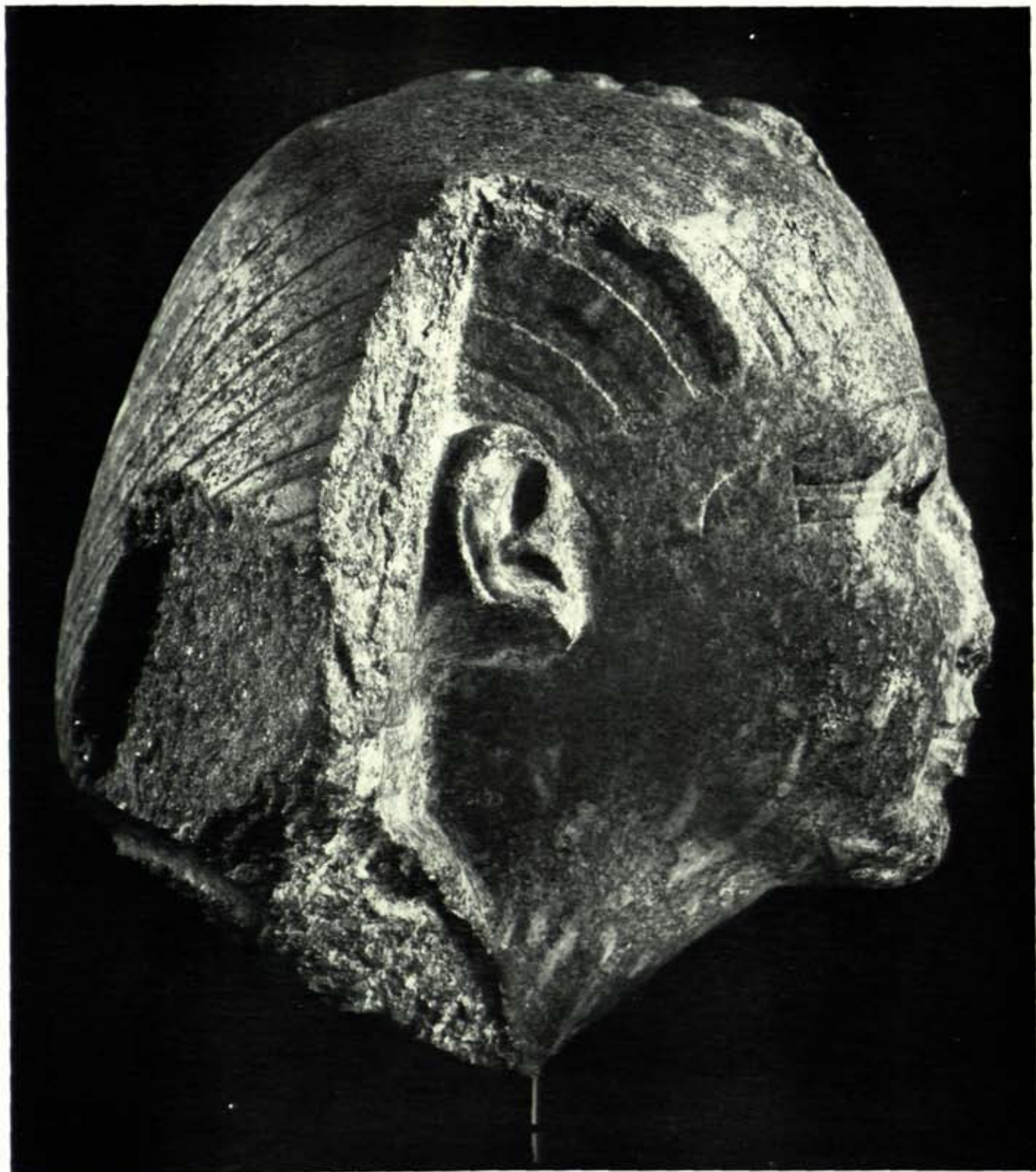
<sup>1</sup> Borchardt, *Statuen*, IV, 34-36, pl. 161. In the text Borchardt describes the fragmentary forepart only and gives its height as 65 cm. He illustrates, however, the headless statue too, as it is exhibited in Cairo today. The main portion behind the break, the king's body, was discovered by Petrie at Tanis in 1884; see *Tanis*, I, p. 15 (75); 25, no. 30; pl. 6, no. 41; pl. 14, fig. 3, and the second plan in the appendix where the location of the object is marked '75'. The *Fundplatz* thus lies approximately in the middle between Pylons II and III, north of the centre aisle of the Main Temple; see *Kémi*, II, pl. 8 (plan). Petrie attributed the statue first to Ramesses II which was corrected to Osorkon II by Griffith in *Tanis*, II, p. 21, no. 41. In July 1904, Petrie's find, the main portion, was brought to the Cairo Museum, joined to the forepart originally discovered by Mariette, and given the J. d'E. no. 37489 (which does not appear in Borchardt, loc. cit.). Mariette's find, the stela, was stated by him to come from the Main Temple at Tanis; see *Rec. Trav.* 9 (1887), p. 15, no. XII. He failed, however, to indicate precisely where it was found within the Main Temple and especially when. It is lacking in the list drawn up by Vassalli of objects discovered at Tanis up to the end of the season of 1859/60 (*I Monumenti istorici egizi*, 33-36). On the other hand, the inscription was copied by E. de Rougé (*Inscr. hiérog.* 1, pls. 71-72), who visited Tanis in November 1863. Therefore the piece must have been discovered between those two dates. See also K. Bosse, *Die menschliche Figur*, etc., no. 151; Hornemann, *Types*, II, 549; *Ann. Serv.* 5, 210; Montet, *La Nécropole royale de Tanis*, I, 28-29; Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* IV, p. 17, no. 75; *Livre des Rois*, III, p. 340, no. XXIII.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, *Tanis*, I, pl. 14, fig. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Illustrated in *Life* magazine of Nov. 14, 1955, and numerous newspaper accounts of that time.

<sup>4</sup> Thanks are due to Dr. Abbas Bayoumi who granted us permission to republish the statue. He as well as Mr. Maurice Rafaël, formerly Chief Curator of the Cairo Museum, were most helpful to us when the identification of the missing statue was undertaken. We are also grateful to Dr. Henry G. Fischer, then Assistant in the Egyptian Section of the University Museum at Philadelphia, Mr. John Dimick, at that time Field Director of the University of Pennsylvania excavation at Mit Rahinah, and to Professor Rudolf Anthes, Curator of the Egyptian Section of the University Museum, for having tirelessly helped in providing and forwarding the various casts. Dr. Anthes also very kindly permitted publication of this new study of the Philadelphia head. Mr. and Mrs. Dimick have, further, generously contributed towards the cost of illustrating this article in a proper manner, and a special expression of gratitude is due to them.





HEAD OF OSORKON II. RIGHT PROFILE

*Philadelphia, Pa.*





HEAD OF OSORKON II. RIGHT FRONT, THREE-QUARTER VIEW

kneeling position. The body, from the hips up, leans forward at an angle of approximately 55 degrees. The right knee rests on the ground; the left leg is stretched backward. It was bent at the knee<sup>1</sup> which, however, is lost together with the lower leg and rear portion of the base. In his fundamental study of the royal quartzite torso in Florence, H. W. Müller included a thorough discussion of this pose in royal representations,<sup>2</sup> and the same subject was more briefly dealt with by Cyril Aldred at about the same time.<sup>3</sup> They conclude that, beyond the mere act of proffering, this posture of obeisance identifies the king as directing his movement explicitly to his god or gods, which is indeed borne out by the text on the stela. Conforming with this movement of the body the head is stretched forward and slightly raised, which accounts for the live expression of the face, so unlike the merely static aspect of most official royal 'portraits'.

In comparison with the body the head in Philadelphia is well preserved (pls. I-V). The head-cloth has the usual broad stripes in low relief, whereas the lappets, of which the Philadelphia head shows a small part on the right side, the main parts being seen on the Cairo torso, have narrower grooves. Both wings of the *nemes* are damaged, on the left more than on the right side. The lower border of the headcloth is rather broad; from the upper edge of this border springs the uraeus, but only the approximately rectangular groove remains where hood and head of the cobra were once embedded. Considering the size of this groove it has to be assumed that the inlay was of stone, and not metal. The eyes, too, were inlaid and are now empty. The body of the uraeus (pl. V, 1) stretches in ten undulations well beyond the crest of the head.<sup>4</sup> In the rear (pl. V, 2) the stripes, or creases, of the *nemes* converge as if coming to a point, but end in the semicircle formed by the upper end of the royal queue.<sup>5</sup>

Seen in profile (pl. II) the front plane of the head-cloth's lateral wings falls

<sup>1</sup> See the illustration of the left side of the statue as found, cited in n. 2 on p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Studi . . . Rosellini*, II (1955), 186 ff. In his long footnote on p. 192 the author lists also the Cairo torso under discussion, followed by the Philadelphia head ('Zu einer Figur ähnlicher Art gehört der Königskopf im University Museum Philadelphia-Pennsylvania . . .'), thus coming very close to establishing that the two pieces belong together.

<sup>3</sup> *JEA* 41 (1955), 3 ff. See also Henry G. Fischer's two articles on prostrate royal figures in *Univ. Mus. Bull.* (Philadelphia), 20, no. 1 (Mar. 1956), pp. 26-42; 21, no. 2 (June, 1957), pp. 35-40.

<sup>4</sup> This is by far the largest number of S-bends known to me in uraei on stone sculpture. It reflects a M.K. prototype of Sesostri I; see Bissing, *Denkm.* 73 (now Hanover no. 1935. 200. 502) and Evers, *Staat*, II, p. 97, par. 97, who corrected Bissing's attribution. Cf. also Engelbach, in *Ann. Serv.* 28, p. 22 and pl. 4, no. A6. Ramesses II, too, in Cairo 42142 (Hornemann, *Types*, II, 544) sports a uraeus with ten undulations though it lacks the long straight tail of the Philadelphia cobra. In relief it occurs already with *S'nh-k-r* Mentuhotpe III; see *Temples of Armant*, pl. 94. If Louvre E. 10299 (finally published, half a century after its acquisition, in Vandier, *Manuel*, III, p. 37, pl. 8, fig. 6) represents Mentuhotpe III (as I am now inclined to think) we could trace the tenfold uraeus back to Dyn. XI; if Vandier is right in attributing the Louvre head to Pepi I it would be the earliest example of this uraeus since Brooklyn 39. 119 (on which it also occurs) represents Pepi II (Vandier, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39, pl. 8, fig. 4). Notwithstanding the O.K. origin, I believe that it was the M.K. prototype which served as model for the Osorkon II uraeus.

<sup>5</sup> Ordinarily this denotes that a head belonged to a statue without back pillar (usually a sphinx) or to a sculpture the back pillar of which ends well below shoulder level. On statues with a high back pillar (shoulder level or above) the pigtail is often shown twice, half in the round, on either side of the back pillar. Despite Evers, *op. cit.* II, p. 11, par. 51, this occurs from Dyn. XVIII (Alexandria no. 23842; Breccia, *Le Musée Gr.-R.* 1925-31, p. 17, no. 6; pl. 8, no. 29; Amenophis III) to well into the Ptolemaic Period (Alexandria no. N.G. 378; *Ann. Serv. Suppl.* 12 (1948), pp. 43-44, fig. 8; Ptolemy VI).



somewhat back of the vertical.<sup>1</sup> The ears are voluminous, well formed, and deeply carved; since the lower parts are missing we shall never know whether the ear-lobes were nicked.<sup>2</sup> The plastic eyebrows in low relief are widely separated at the root of the nose; on the other hand, they are remarkably long and extend far back on the temples where they are paralleled by the cosmetic lines in relief. Only the cosmetic lines show toward the end the slight increase in width (pl. IV) which was fashionable in the Eighteenth Dynasty for eyebrows and cosmetic lines alike. The eye-sockets, now empty, are surmounted by thick upper lids which are bordered by an incised line where they meet the brow. The left eye appears to have been larger than the right though the damage to the upper lid somewhat exaggerates this impression. Its lower contour slants upward more than the right.

The nose, for the most part, is destroyed; there is a depression at the root, and on the whole it seems to have been narrow and straight. The philtrum is short and shallow; the distance between the nostrils, which have been drilled, and the upper lip is quite short. The mouth, though fairly straight, has the sickle-shaped lower lip which is in keeping with most idealizing royal heads. The lips themselves are beautifully modelled and are outlined by a sharp ridge. There is a depression below the lower lip and a hardly noticeable furrow descends from the drilled corners of the mouth to the sides of the chin (pl. IV). The under side of the chin is absolutely horizontal (pl. II); the sinews on both sides of the throat form a depression which runs up straight to the end of each jawbone.

The face as a whole is small; the smooth cheeks fall back rapidly from an imaginary line which connects the corners of eyes and mouth. The head cannot be considered a true portrait—the youthful idealization excludes this—although it is not impossible that the sculptor captured at least something of the features of his royal model. The receding forehead and the delicacy of the face, surprising in a life-size head, could well contain a few personal traits. And if this statue was made at the time of Osorkon's accession to the throne, the charming immaturity of the face—so unlike the strength expressed in the body—may indeed reflect a certain aspect of the person of the young king. There is no doubt, however, that in the sculpture standards of idealization as established in the Eighteenth Dynasty served as model.<sup>3</sup>

The present height of the Philadelphia head amounts to 33.5 cm.<sup>4</sup> At the neck it is broken off at a slant, but the join is perfect from the sternal notch in the front to the back of the wig, in the rear. As a matter of fact, the top of the queue (pl. VI, 1),

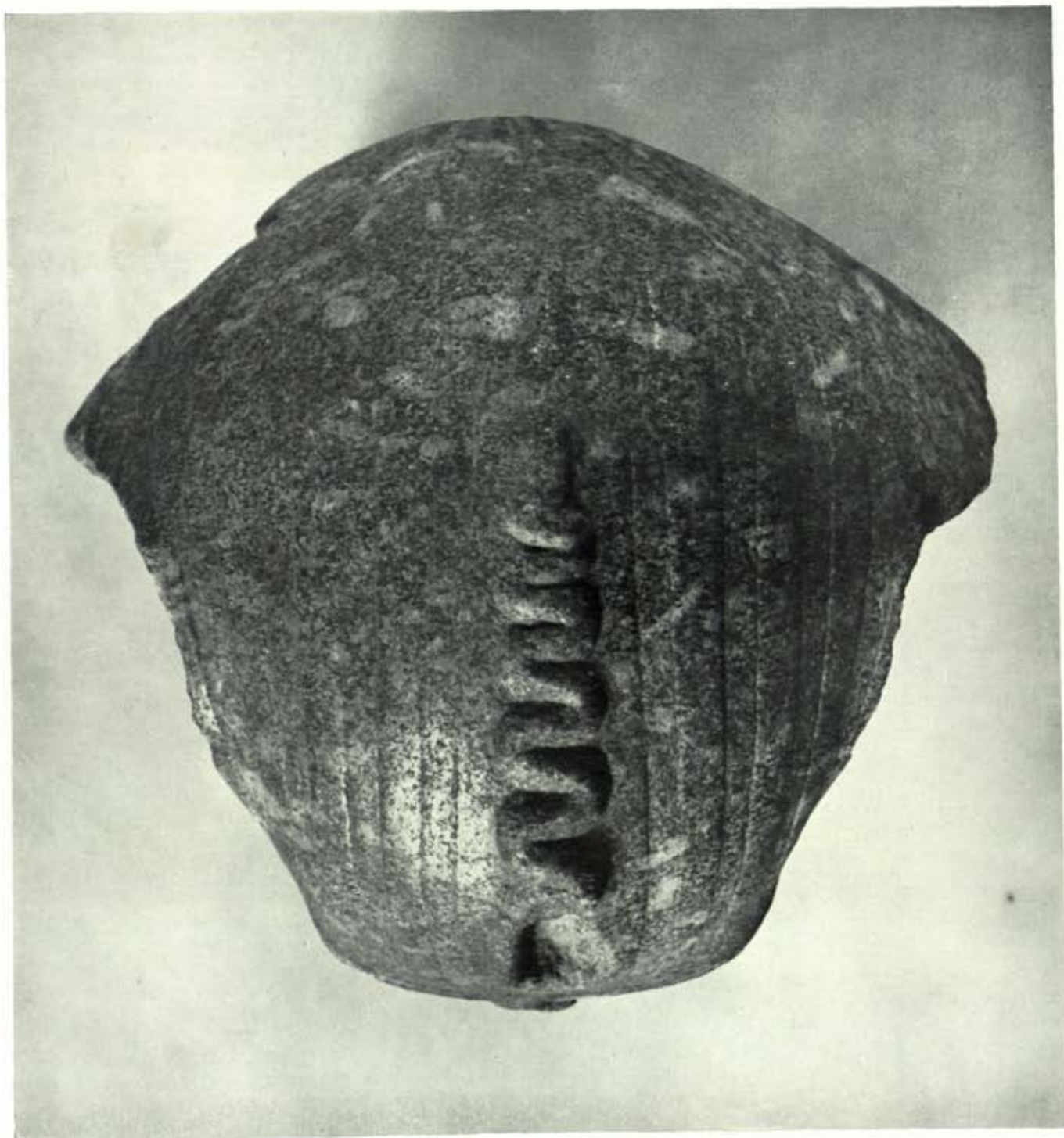
<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. W. Müller's (op. cit., pp. 190-1) observations on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> Cairo 42197 (Legrain, *Statues*, III, pl. 5), a limestone statuette representing Osorkon II or III (the inscription does not identify the king clearly and I am inclined to attribute it to Osorkon III), shows no sign of perforation of the ear-lobe. On the other hand, the often illustrated bronze statuette of Osorkon I from the Lanzone Collection (now Brooklyn 57. 92; Porter and Moss, IV, 58, where it is incorrectly located in Turin) has indented ear-lobes; see also Aldred, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> H. W. Müller, in *Bi. Or.* 10 (1955), 32, rightly stated that Tuthmoside forms were revived in the sculpture of the Libyan Period to which he was inclined to attribute the Philadelphia head already at that time. Aldred, op. cit., p. 5, n. 3, too, recognized that the head could not possibly represent Hatshepsut and ventured the opinion that it was late Ramesside.

<sup>4</sup> Height of face from chin to headcloth: 16.2 cm.; width of head now c. 31.5 cm.





HEAD OF OSORKON II. SEEN FROM ABOVE



1. Left front, three-quarter view



2. Back view

HEAD OF OSORKON II. PLASTER CAST



which is the highest point of the Cairo statue, dovetails neatly into the semicircular hole at the rear of the *nemes* on the Philadelphia head (pl. V, 2). Thus reunited head and statue measure 123 cm. in total height of which 13 to 13.5 cm. form the height of the rather uneven base. Therefore in ancient times the body alone was about 110 cm. high.<sup>1</sup>

The upper portion of what is left of the statue in Cairo, devoid of both arms and left shoulder, is badly mutilated (pl. VI, 1.2). Yet enough remains today to see under the damage that the torso was of powerful build: sternal notch and collarbones were rendered with much attention to detail, and the large nipples were indicated by raised discs, just above the fill-in (the 'bridge') which constitutes the block between body and stela. The top surface of this bridge is flat and curves upward toward the line where formerly it met the back of the stela's upper portion.

Three deep grooves appear on the preserved portion of the left shoulder, an age-old formula for denoting the physical strength of the king's body in his statuary.<sup>2</sup> The quality of the sculptural form of the front of the torso, now mostly destroyed, can only be surmised by considering the king's back which, since there is no back pillar, was fully worked out and shows superb modelling, especially in the area of the shoulder blades. The same plastic quality can be observed in the lower portion of the right leg. The rest of the body is covered by the *shendyt*, the tab of which is visible on the left side below the highly ornamental outline of the spread kilt.<sup>3</sup> This garment is held round the waist by a belt with zigzag pattern.<sup>4</sup> In the rear the belt is closed by an oval buckle decorated with a short protective formula (see below, p. 12).

The arms, bent at the elbow, must have followed the edge of the bridge between body and stela and were probably modelled three quarters in the round. The elbow would have been just over the  $\frac{\phi}{\Delta}$  of the inscription on the right side (fig. 1). It is curious to note that the right knee, half in the round, appears on the right side of the bridge and again, several knee-widths over, also on the left where it is modelled even more fully in the round. The stela which the king proffers with an undetermined position of the hands is not perpendicular to the base, but tilts forward. Its front now bears 21 lines of text; two or three lines were lost at the top, and both edges of the slab are broken off from top to bottom.

The surface of head and body has a smooth polish, but is still far from glossy. This standard finish, which includes the low relief inscription of the belt buckle in the rear (p. 12) is, however, absent on the inscribed portions of the bridge in front of the main

<sup>1</sup> Cairo 1040 now measures 100.4 cm. in height; width of base 44.5 cm.; width of shoulders originally 52-55 cm.; depth of statue now 116 cm. (from perpendicular projection of top of stela to break at left leg); height of inscribed portion of stela now 62.3 cm.; thickness of stela 5-7 cm.; intralinear width of inscription on base 8.2 cm.; the intralinear widths of the stela inscription vary between 2.9 and 3.1 cm.

<sup>2</sup> Cyril Aldred (op. cit., p. 7, n. 4) was the first to draw attention in print to this feature. His *tcn-mš*-like mark, however, is in my opinion merely a kind of shorthand symbol of the same, possibly a sculptural reference to the king's being *nht-r* (Wb. II, 315, 22). But these grooves occur also in a private relief of the M.K.; see the stela of *Mnṯw-wsr*, dated to year 17 of Sesostri I, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, as illustrated in Hoyningen-Huene and Steindorff, *Egypt* (1943 edition), 58 (fig.).

<sup>3</sup> Petrie, op. cit., pl. 14, fig. 3.

<sup>4</sup> The same pattern is found on the belt of Ramesses II in Cairo 42142 (Hornemann, op. cit., p. 544).



break, which runs between the body and the bridge, and on the stela. As a matter of fact, these parts show a somewhat different texture and are of a much rougher surface. Here the smooth finish of the torso can be found only on the left side of the bridge (pl. VI, 2), just in front of the right knee, and on the upper right of the bridge (fig. 1) directly behind the area marred by the break of the missing edge of the stela. That the statue was broken apart intentionally is apparent from the drill holes on the right

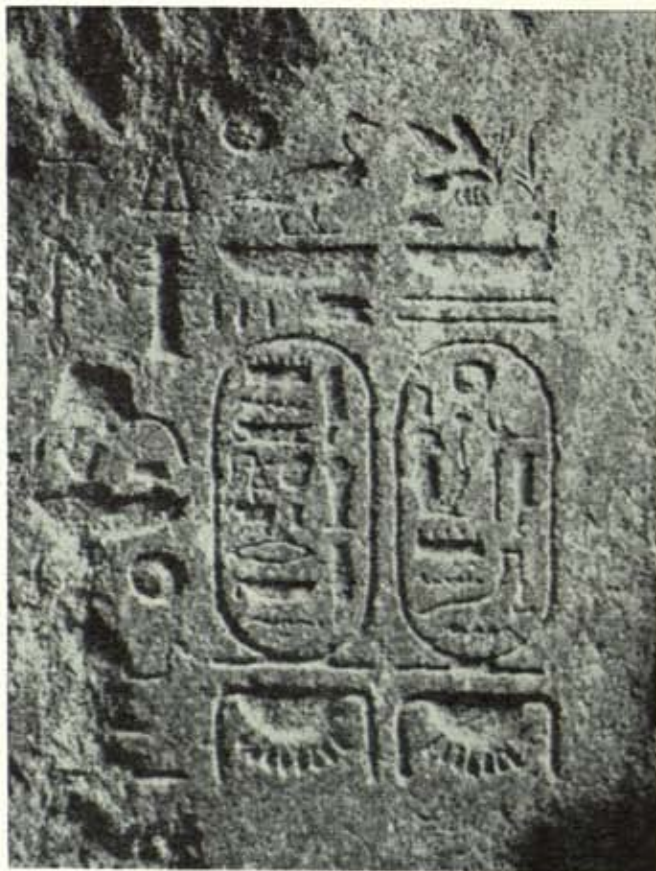


FIG. 1. Statue of Osorkon II (Cairo 1040).  
Inscription on right side of bridge between body and stela.

side, just below the edge of the kilt on the knee (pl. VI). The break eventually did, however, deviate from the intended line of cleavage and excluded the right side of the right knee although it caught its left side.<sup>1</sup>

The position of the right knee, incidentally, is to me an unexplained feature. With the left leg stretched backward the right leg is in the forward position *which reverses the attitude of most other known sculptures of this type*. It is as incongruous as a standing male statue would be with the right leg advanced.<sup>2</sup> Vandier, in his *Manuel*, III, 351, 376, and 422, mentions several instances of kneeling kings whose left leg is thrown back; one

<sup>1</sup> Called 'left' knee by Borchardt, op. cit., p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> I know only one male sculpture with this stance, namely, Louvre A 49.



has to discard, however, his two-dimensional examples since, as a rule, in them the far leg is advanced and the near leg is stretched backward, and no conclusion can be drawn as to which leg is really meant to be advanced in each case;<sup>1</sup> all depends on the direction of the figure. There remains in his list, however, one object in which, although it is merely the sketch for a statuette, the position of the two legs is incontestably like that of our Cairo statue.<sup>2</sup> This incomplete statuette is therefore the only parallel we possess, and it is not helpful since it is an unfinished, perhaps even an experimental, piece and furthermore comes from El-'Amārna, where untraditional, odd sculptures abound. The small size, too, of the El-'Amārna sketch permits no real comparison and thus, reluctantly, one is compelled to state that the position of the legs of the Cairo statue of Osorkon II is almost unique. Why this unusual composition was chosen is hard to explain; it does not appear to have been motivated by the place, and consequently the direction of the viewer, for which the statue was intended within the temple precinct; at least we have no evidence for it.<sup>3</sup> The explanation has to be found in another suggestion, and for this we have to consider once more the statue as a whole.

The first question which came to mind when the identity of the Philadelphia head had been established on the basis of the Cairo statue's inscription, was of course concerned with the originality of the sculpture within the period during which it was inscribed. It must be admitted that in the beginning it appeared very likely that the sculpture of an earlier king had been re-used, especially since even today I am not entirely convinced that the inscribed sides of the bridge and the stela had not been polished before the present texts were carved. Yet, in the few years which have passed since I first studied the Cairo piece the conclusion that this statue was actually made for Osorkon II, and thus is his, and only his, representation, has gradually been strengthened. The lack of comparative material is still the chief stumbling block in the study of royal statuary of the Twenty-second Dynasty, and though the conclusion was arrived at (partly at least in a negative way) that the head does not resemble any other well-known king of Late Ramesside times or of the Third Intermediate Period, it now seems to be the only possible solution.<sup>4</sup> Until such time as we have a well-ordered *Corpus* of sculptures dated, as well as datable, to the Bubastite dynasty, the royal

<sup>1</sup> The same holds true for drawings and paintings of striding men; the far leg is nearly always advanced, and when the figure faces left it is a mistake to call the far leg the right leg.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin 21238; Vandier, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 336, 348, 351, 422; fig. 7 on pl. facing p. 12. Add to the bibliography: Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 192 and 198, pl. 18a.

<sup>3</sup> Mariette, *op. cit.*, did not specify where the forepart of the statue was found. Petrie, *Tanis*, 1, 15, locates the *Fundplatz* of the torso ('Ramessu II') as given in p. 4, n. 1 above.

<sup>4</sup> In the summer of 1956 I saw in the files of a Swiss dealer two photographs of a large seated royal bronze statuette, the head of which bore a striking resemblance to the Philadelphia head. The prints were marked 'Osorkon' and had a note to the effect that the object had been lent to the 'Exposition Champollion' which was held at the Louvre in 1922. This exhibition, for which no catalogue was issued and which was apparently nowhere reviewed, must have contained an outstanding number of important works of Egyptian art, primarily sculpture, from private collections in France. Some of them have been traced, but a few have so far not reappeared, as anyone realizes who examines the views from this exhibition filed in the *Archives Photographiques* at the Palais Royal in Paris. The two sides shown in the photographs of 'Osorkon' were uninscribed, but the identification was undoubtedly correct. The bronze was said to be in a private collection in Switzerland; thus far it has not been located.



material in the round is strikingly inadequate for forming even a sketchy picture of the sculptural style of the period.<sup>1</sup> Bronzes and small limestone statuettes simply do not provide enough information to be used in conjunction with life-size sculpture in hard stone. As will be seen in the following article, the text of the stela furnishes a kind of programme as well as a petition pronounced by the king at the beginning of his reign. None of the other documents left by him is imbued with so much fervour, and it seems that a supreme effort had been made at the time of, or shortly after, the coronation of Osorkon II to create for him a monument of truly regal splendour, combining the greatest physical grace—the statue in its elegant kneeling position—with a spiritual promulgation of impressive tenor. That these promising artistic beginnings did not last is well known; therefore the statue represents a major initial effort, creating something entirely new and nearly unique with an unconventional pose which can only underline the singularity of the event.

For it can be stated in so many words, that as a work of art the sculpture is outstanding. This appreciation does not rely on the quality of the modelling alone which, in general, is merely the product of competent craftsmen skilled in the treatment of hard stone. It is primarily motivated by the composition and the scale. Unfortunately the statue in Cairo is exhibited today boxed in by large masses on both sides so that no side view can be taken which would do justice to the grandiose scheme which underlies the surging movement of the king's body, apparent even now in its mutilated state. It is a daring piece of workmanship, doubtless inspired in part by Ramesside sculpture which could be seen everywhere in the Delta at the time of the Twenty-second Dynasty, and especially at Tanis where they were gathered, regardless of origin, in the Main Temple, portions of which must have been like a museum, considering the variety of statues of earlier periods assembled there. By its size, too, the statue of Osorkon II is almost without parallel in its period, and at the present time one is compelled to attribute the change of attitude—namely, the advancement of the right leg instead of the left—to a new spirit which made itself known by the creation of a masterpiece in hard stone of considerable size in an attitude which was both traditional and novel.

This supreme effort of carving an unusual and never-to-be-surpassed statue of the new king at the time of his accession can be found time and again in the history of Egyptian art. Probably the best example is the great statue of Ramesses II in Turin<sup>2</sup> in which the owner more resembles his father Sethos I than in any other of the vast,

<sup>1</sup> Osorkon I has left the bronze statuette, now in Brooklyn, see p. 6, n. 1 above; Louvre A.O. 9502, the bust formerly in the Meuricoffre Collection in Naples (see Porter and Moss, vii, 388); and an unfinished sphinx of poor workmanship in Vienna (no. 52: Komorzynski, *Altägypten*, fig. 40) which was included in the Basle exhibition of 1953 (Kunsthalle Basel, *Schaetze altaegyptischer Kunst*, June 27 to Sept. 13, 1953, pp. 53–54, no. 134). Of Osorkon II we have the lower part of a seated statue found at Byblos, 86 cm. high (Porter and Moss, loc. cit.) and a similar piece, though much larger, in Cairo (Cat. Gén. 540; Borchardt, op. cit. II, p. 89, pl. 90) which is probably usurped. To Osorkon III probably belongs the perfectly preserved small limestone figure from a kneeling statuette showing the king pushing a barque (Cairo 42197; Legrain, *Statues*, III, pl. 5) of which H. W. Müller kindly provided me with an excellent set of detailed photographs. It should be remembered, however, that the identity of this king is not quite certain (see above p. 6, n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> No. 1380; Vandier, op. cit., pl. 226, figs. 1 and 3.





1. Without head

*From Tanis*



2. With cast of head in position, 22 October 1955.  
Because of the steep angle of the break the head had to be  
held in place

STATUE OF KING OSORKON II

*Cairo 1040*





and for the most part uninspired, number of sculptures purporting to represent Ramesses II. Although the Philadelphia-Cairo statue compares well with the Turin statue of Ramesses II as far as composition is concerned, it does not quite measure up to Ramesside standards at their best. It reflects them, it constitutes an attempt to recreate the splendour of bygone times, and as such it is a work of art of considerable merit. It occupies a unique position among the royal monuments of the Third Intermediate Period and, until a new object of this size comes to light, may well be considered the finest statue of an otherwise bleak period in the history of Egyptian sculpture in the round.

<sup>1</sup> Belatedly I notice that the statuette of Amenophis III in the Gallatin Collection, to which Cyril Aldred (*loc. cit.*, p. 5, n. 5) has drawn attention, also has the right knee advanced and the left leg stretched backward. Aldred suggests plausibly that it dates from the beginning of the king's reign. The statuette is very small (height 11 cm.), and thus can hardly be considered the prototype of the Osorkon statue Philadelphia-Cairo.


# THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE PHILADELPHIA-CAIRO STATUE OF OSORKON II

By HELEN K. JACQUET-GORDON

IN a fragmentary report on his excavations at Tanis written in 1868 and eventually published in 1887, Mariette mentions the discovery of a 'fragment dont il nous serait difficile de reconnaître l'origine si, à l'un des angles, n'apparaissait l'extrémité d'un genou, qui nous prouve que ce fragment provient d'une statue, représentant un personnage agenouillé et tenant devant lui soit une table d'offrandes, soit tout autre objet dont notre fragment est une partie. Une inscription ornait le devant de cet objet. Il n'en reste plus qu'une longue tranche, prise sur le milieu, et n'offrant plus que des bouts de phrases sans suite. Sur chaque côté sont gravés, dans le style décoratif, les cartouches d'Osorkon II.'<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, Petrie, digging at Tanis in 1884, had discovered between the 2nd and 3rd pairs of obelisks in the main temple a headless grey granite statue of a kneeling king with arms outstretched in such a position as to indicate that he had originally held something in front of him.<sup>2</sup> Examination of the two pieces showed that they belonged together, Mariette's fragment proving to be a good-sized stela held before himself at arm's length by Petrie's king. On the stela was engraved an inscription which must when complete have contained at least 24 lines.

In addition to the text incised on the stela, the statue is embellished with short inscriptions at four different places.

(1) At the back of the belt supporting the king's kilt is a buckle-like ornament on which appears in low relief a magical protection-formula of the kind so often repeated on bas-reliefs behind the figures of royal personages:  'The protection of life and divine power is behind him.'

(2) On the king's left shoulder was engraved his second cartouche name. Only the

beginning is preserved:



'Osorkon, beloved of Amūn, son of Bastet.'<sup>3</sup>

(3) On each side of the 'bridge' of stone connecting the stela with the body of the statue are the king's cartouches, 'in decorative style' as Mariette puts it, followed by a line of good wishes (*see p. 2*). On the right side: 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the two lands, Usima'rē'miamūn, son of Rē, Lord of diadems, Osorkon, beloved of Amūn, son of Bastet, may he be given all life, stability, power, and joy like

<sup>1</sup> Mariette, *Rec. Trav.* 9, 15, XII (Cairo JE 37489).

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, *Tanis*, 1, 15, no. 75, where it is called a statue of Ramesses II.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie, *op. cit.*, pl. 6, no. 41B.



(that of) Rē for ever.' On the left side exactly the same inscription except that for 'joy' is substituted 'health'.



(4) Around the base of the statue ran two parallel bands of inscription containing the king's complete titulary.<sup>1</sup> They started at the centre front branching out in opposite directions around the sides to meet again at the centre back. Very little is left of these two inscriptions, since the protruding parts of the front of the base have been chipped off all around the stela as well as around the 'bridge' attaching the stela to the statue, whereas the back part was lost when the lower half of the outstretched leg was broken off. There remain, therefore, only small sections at the centre of each side. These suffice, nevertheless, to indicate the nature and arrangement of the texts, an arrangement not unknown from other monuments.<sup>2</sup>

The centre front was probably marked by an ♂ sign flanked by two Horus falcons and the Horus name of the king in the *serekh*, twice repeated (cf. fig. 1 below). The two inscriptions then turned their respective corners and continued along the sides of the base with the epithets which habitually accompany the Horus name. The lacunae here measure approximately 56 cm. on the right side and 42 cm. on the left side. These were followed immediately on the right side by the *Nbty* name, whereas the left side continued with the Golden Horus name. The two cartouches filled the remaining space at the end of the sides and on the rear face.

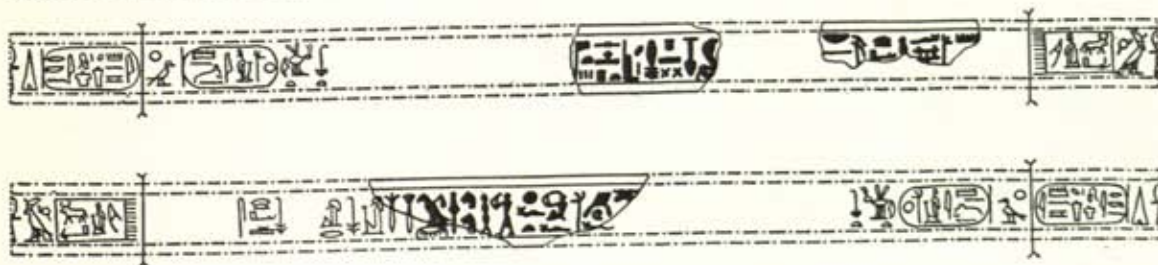


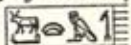
FIG. 1. Titulary around the base of the statue of Osorkon II.

It will be seen that I have restored the Horus name of Osorkon as 'Strong bull, beloved of Ma'et'. This is the Horus name used by the king on all known monuments


<sup>1</sup> Cf. Griffith in Petrie, *Tanis*, II, 21/37. For copies of the texts around the base cf. *Tanis*, I, pl. 6, nos. 41A, 41C, 41Z. The fragment marked 41Z on the plate is referred to by Griffith as 41D.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for example, Legrain, *CGC, Statues et Statuettes*, II, pl. 55, no. 42142, a statue of Ramesses II.



with one exception, the statue of *Dd-Dhwtj-ḫw-f-ḥnh* called *Nḥt-f-mwt* (Cairo 42208) found in the Karnak cachette, on which the name appears as  'Strong bull arising in Thebes'.<sup>1</sup> Whether this discrepancy indicates a change of name at a particular period of the reign is questionable. *Hr-m-wst* may simply have been considered more appropriate on a statue destined to be placed in the temple of Amūn at Karnak. However, it is to be noted that in other inscriptions from Thebes, Osorkon uses the name 'Strong bull, beloved of Ma'et'.<sup>2</sup>

*Text on the right side of the base*

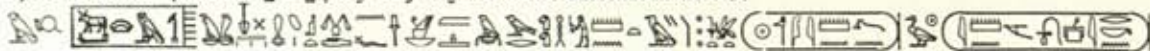
[...] *mn wsr f* [...] *hr m Wst nb t* [...] Griffith<sup>3</sup> had no suggestions to make concerning the groups at the beginning of the fragment. The end he translates: 'crowned in Thebes? lord of the two lands [Osorkon II]', thus indicating that he considered the last group to have been followed by a cartouche. I feel some qualms about such an interpretation owing to the absence of *nsw bity* before the supposed *nb tswy*. The cartouche name accompanied solely by *nb tswy* is not unknown at this period<sup>4</sup> but on our statue where the titulary is given in great detail it seems unlikely that so important an element as  would have been omitted. Perhaps the last group of the fragment should be read *nb tswy nb ḥst* and should be regarded as an epithet used separately without relation to a cartouche.

*Nbty smṣ pšty mī s* 'Ist 'The Two Ladies, he who unites the two halves (of the land) like the son of Isis'. This is identical with nos. I, II, III, and V (cf. n. 1 below). No. IV has combined this epithet with the one which follows directly after it in nos. I, II, and III: *dmd n-f šhmwy m ḥtp* 'He for whom the two crowns (lit. the two powerful ones) are joined in peace', by giving the word *pšty* 'the two halves', the determinative of the two crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt.

*štp ntrw m ir mrt* 'He who satisfies the gods as (being) one who acts justly (lit. who does justice)'.<sup>5</sup> The complete epithet appears in no. V.

<sup>1</sup> For purposes of comparison, here are the extant titularies of Osorkon II:

I, Cairo statue 42208 of *Dd-Dhwtj-ḫw-f-ḥnh* from the Karnak cachette:



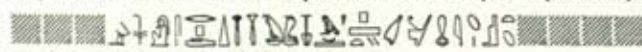
II, Cairo statue 42252 of *Ns-Imn* from the Karnak cachette:



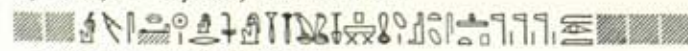
III, Inscr. of Osorkon II, north of sanctuary, Karnak (Legrain, *Ann. Serv.* 5, 282):



IV, Br. Mus. Statue no. 1146 from Tell Muḳdām (Naville, *Ahnas and Paheri*, pl. 4):



V, Naos, Cairo 70006, from Bubastis:



<sup>2</sup> Cf. nos. II and III above.

<sup>3</sup> Griffith, in *Tanis*, II, 21. The present whereabouts of this fragment is unknown to me; consequently I have not been able to verify the copy. Could it possibly have read *ḥw Mn[tyw] wsr f[rtw]* repeating the epithets regularly found as part of the Golden Horus name? The fragment's position in my reconstruction is hypothetical.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. statue of Ḳor, *Aeg. Inscr. Berlin*, II, 73-75, cartouches of Osorkon II.

<sup>5</sup> The last part of the epithet could also be interpreted as *m ir(t) mrt* 'by acting justly (lit. by doing justice)' but I have preferred the translation given above as it requires no emendation of the text.



*Text on the left side of the base*

*shꜥ sw NN r nsw tꜣwy* 'He whom the God NN caused to arise to be King of the Two Lands'. Only the last word is preserved but there can be no doubt about the identity of the epithet. It appears three times elsewhere (nos. III, IV, and V) mentioning a different god each time. In our case the god was probably the same as he to whom the stela was addressed.

*Hr nbw shꜥm phꜣty hꜣw hꜣftyw·fꜣsr fꜣw* 'The Golden Horus, powerful in strength, he who strikes his enemies, rich in splendour'.<sup>1</sup> This varies slightly from the other two known examples (nos. I and III) which read *wꜣr phꜣty hꜣw mntꜣw*.

The main interest of the statue centres about the inscription on the stela which the king is holding in front of him. This stela suffered considerably at the moment when it, together with the 'bridge' of stone backing it, were broken from the body of the statue. The intention of the iconoclast seems to have been to reduce the piece to a more or less rectangular block. To this end he deliberately knocked off all the parts which protruded beyond the sides of the 'bridge', that is to say, the edges of the base with the king's titulary, and the rim of the stela all along the two sides and the rounded top, thus destroying the first few lines of the text together with the beginnings and ends of all the remaining lines. When the projecting front part of the base was knocked off it took with it also a piece of the lower right-hand corner of the stela. This irregularity perhaps accounts for the fact that the mutilated block does not appear to have been reused after all.

The damage thus perpetrated on the stela is to be deplored as it leaves us in doubt concerning certain points which it would have been desirable to clear up. What, for instance, was the identity of the god to whom the king addresses himself in the text? What was the date and the occasion on which the statue was dedicated? The destruction of the first lines leaves the answers to these questions to conjecture. Nevertheless, we can be thankful that Mariette's description of what remained of the text as 'des bouts de phrases sans suite' has proved to be over-pessimistic. In fact, discounting the first two or three lines which have completely disappeared, the inscription is relatively clear down to line 17. Thereafter the increasing size of the lacunae at each side breaks the continuity of the sentences and obscures the meaning. Line 21, of which only one word remains, was probably the last line of the inscription as the bottom of the stela seems to have rested directly on the base of the statue.

The text of the stela was first copied at Tanis in 1863 by Emmanuel de Rougé and appeared in 1877 in volume I of the *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* published by his son.<sup>2</sup> The copy, though fairly complete, includes a considerable number of errors, but this is not to be wondered at considering the difficulties presented by a mutilated text engraved in a rather cramped style on a dark surface and in a granular stone which at present shows no sign of having been polished. The inscription does not seem to have

<sup>1</sup> Griffith read the last epithet as *wꜣsr ꜣw ꜣfyꜣf* and translated 'strong, spreading wide his terror'. However, the writing of *fꜣw* with metathesis occurs frequently from Dyn. XIX on, and the ram's forequarters is a recognized determinative of the word in late times. This together with the very common occurrence of the combination *wꜣsr fꜣw* leads me to believe that the latter must have been the phrase intended here.

<sup>2</sup> J. de Rougé, *Inscr. hiérog.* 1, pls. 71-72.

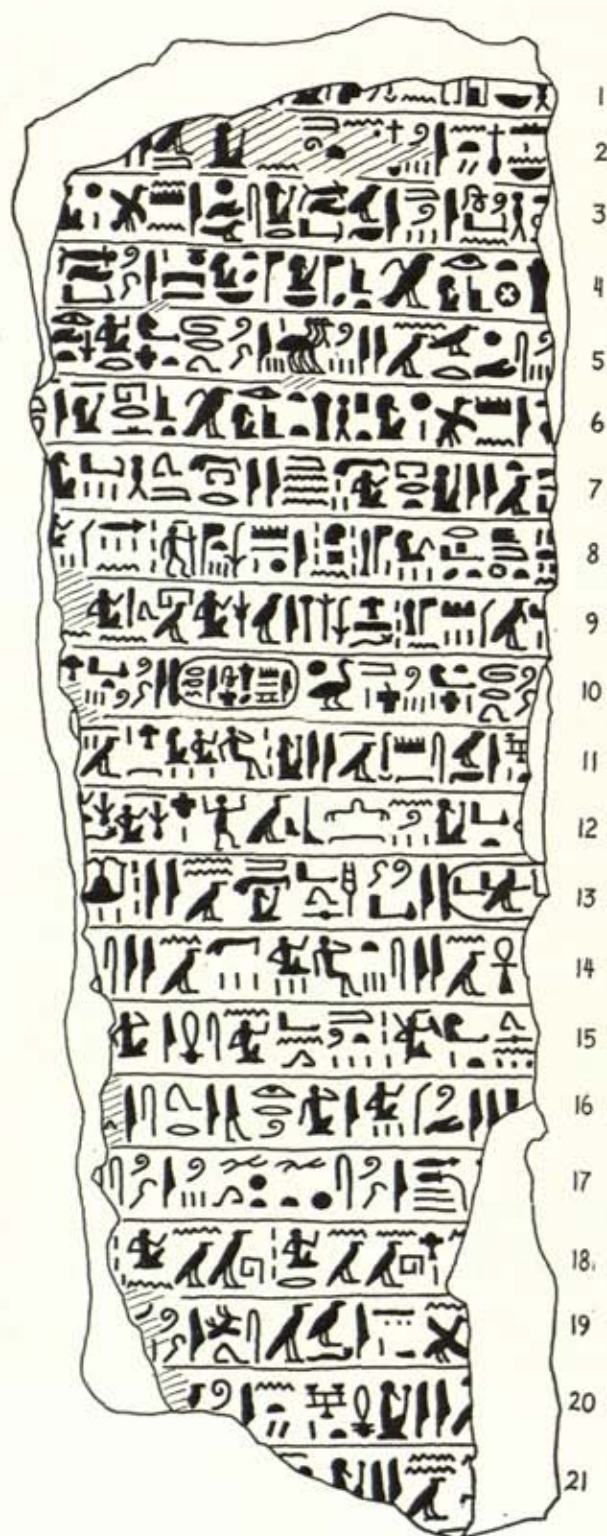
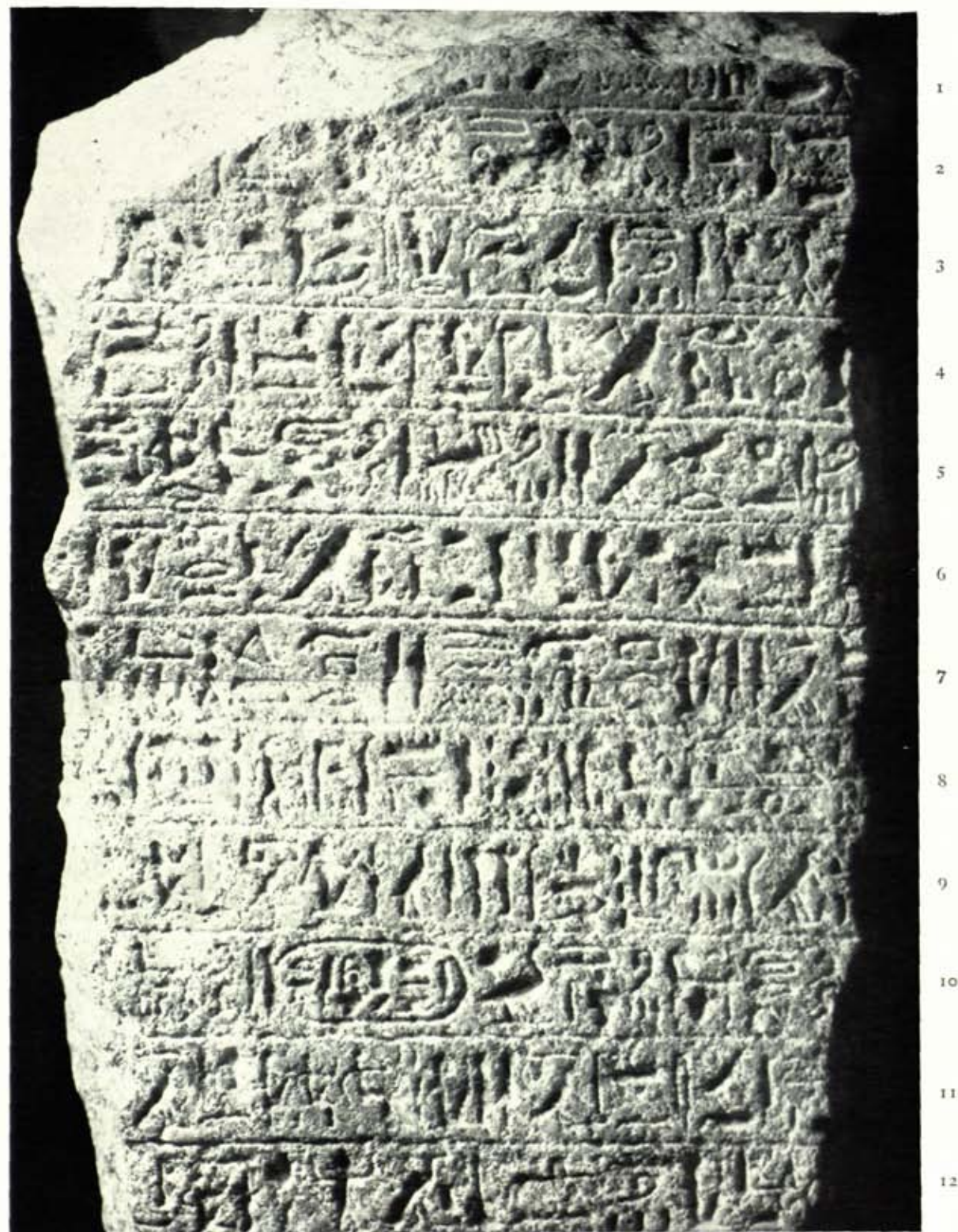


FIG. 2. Stela of Osorkon II.

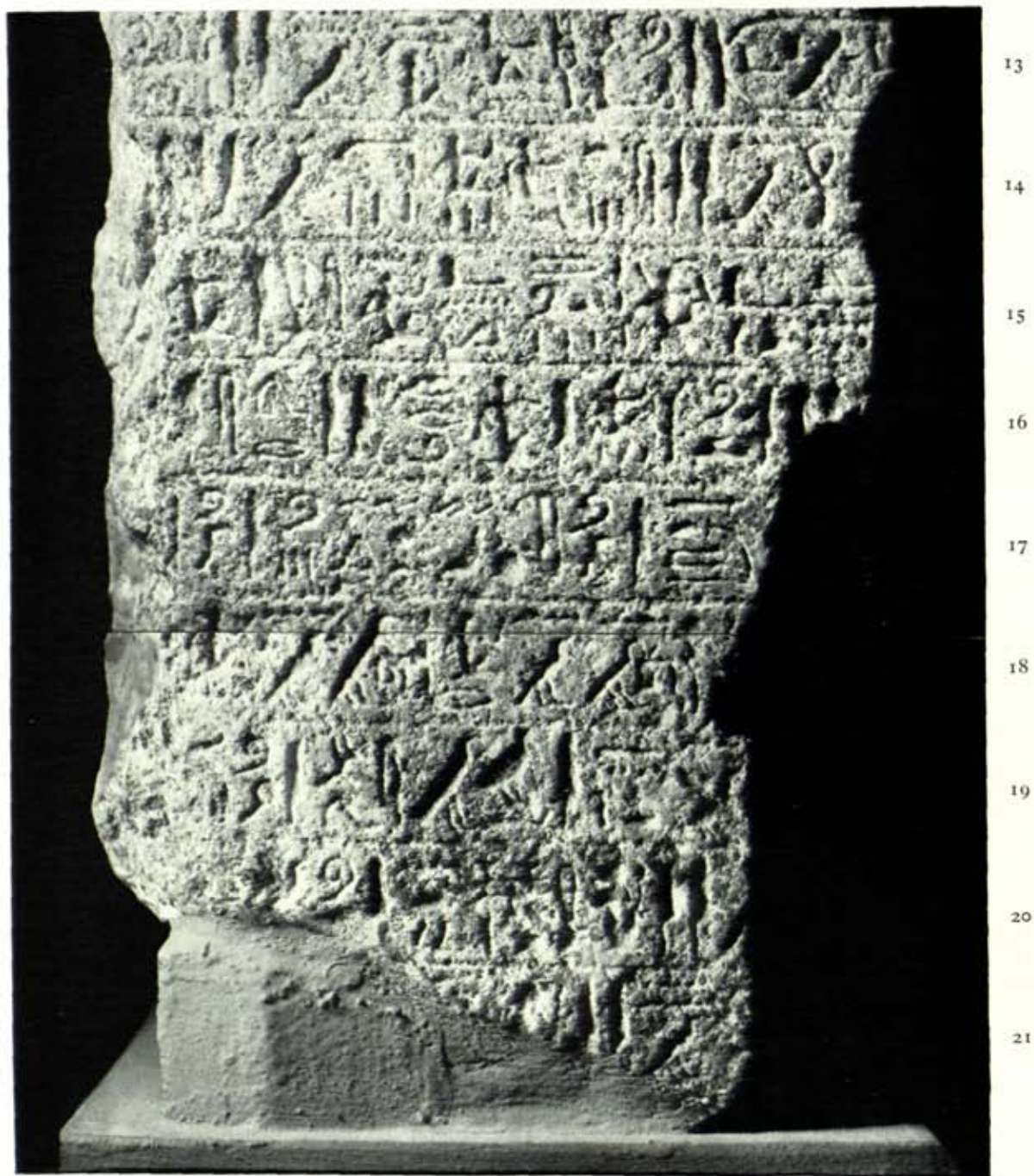




The Stela, lines 1-12

STATUE OF KING OSORKON II





The Stela, lines 13-21

STATUE OF KING OSORKON II



inspired much interest and it was not until 1896 that Daressy, in search of new material concerning the Twenty-second Dynasty, revised de Rougé's copy and attempted a translation.<sup>1</sup> His version, although a great improvement over that of de Rougé, contained one fundamental misapprehension. He mistook the second person singular pronoun, used repeatedly by the king in addressing the god, for the third person singular,<sup>2</sup> and was thus forced to introduce an unknown third person into his story which completely obscured the character of the text. This error was corrected by Borchardt in his copy of the inscription published in the *Catalogue Générale* of the Cairo Museum,<sup>3</sup> but in other details Borchardt's readings are less satisfactory than those of Daressy.<sup>4</sup>

The inscription runs as follows:

### Translation

- (1) [....] every [....] the mansion established [..... You will do]
- (2) every good [thing] which will be good for me and which will be [.....] for me [.....]
- (3) [.....] strikes them. You will protect me from the censure of Amūn, Prē, [Ptah]
- (4) [Bastet, Lady of] Bubastis, Osiris, Horus, Isis, and of every god and every goddess of the sky and the earth. You will protect [me against]
- (5) [their] displeasure and against their power. You will turn my heart toward doing [all good] things
- (6) [so that] Amūn, Prē, Ptah, Bastet, Osiris, Horus, and Isis are satisfied with me [on account of them.]
- (7) [You will] fashion my issue, the seed which comes forth from my limbs [to be]
- (8) great [rulers] of Egypt, Princes, first prophets of Amen-Rē King of the Gods, great chiefs of the Ma, [great chiefs]
- (9) [of the] Foreign Peoples, prophets of Harsaphes, King of the Two Lands, after I have commanded (it). My voice shall go down to [....]
- (10) You [will] turn their hearts toward (lit. after) the son of Rē, Osorkon beloved of Amūn, son of Bastet. You will cause them [to walk]
- (11) [upon my] path. You will confirm my children in the [positions]
- (12) [which] I have given them (so that) brother is not resentful of brother (lit. the heart of a brother is not rebellious toward his brother). [As for]
- (13) [the royal wife and royal daughter] Karoma, you will cause her to stand before me in all my *sed*-festivals [....]
- (14) [You will cause] her male children and her [female] children to live.
- (15) [I shall send] them out at the head of the armies and they will return to me and report [concerning.....]
- (16) [the] *Pywd* who come in order to destroy [.....]
- (17) [.....] very pure. You will repulse them and you will cause (?) [.....]
- (18) [.....] (my) followers against the followers of [.....]
- (19) [.....] of the land when he flees (?). You will [.....]
- (20) [..... upon] my path which [you] will [.....]
- (21) [.....] my children (?) [.....]

<sup>1</sup> Daressy, *Rec. trav.* 18, 49-50.

<sup>2</sup> This misunderstanding arose through a confusion of the sign  $\lambda$ , which in late texts frequently replaces  $\text{C}$ , with  $\text{Q}$  an equivalent of  $\text{C}$ .

<sup>3</sup> Borchardt, *CGC, Statuen und Statuetten*, iv, 34-36, pl. 161, no. 1040.

<sup>4</sup> For further translations and discussions of the text, cf.: Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* iv, §§ 745-7; Hall, *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, 263; Gauthier, *Ann. Serv.* 37, 16-17; Montet, *Osorkon II*, 28-29; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* iv, 17; Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, III, 340 (XXIII).



## Commentary

(l. 1) *Hwt mn . . . . . tp . . . . .*: Have we here possibly the name of a foundation of Osorkon II?

(l. 2) The missing word preceding *nb* at the beginning of the line was probably *nkt*. One would expect three strokes after the determinative but there is only one.

☐: I have not found any examples of this orthography for *nb* 'every', but *nb* 'lord' is frequently written this way. Cf. Iversen, *Two Inscriptions Concerning Private Donations to Temples*, 6 and 8; Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes*, III, n. 42207, left side of seat, line 10.

*nty iw-w nfr n-i*: *nty iw-w* requires a plural antecedent which can be only the substantive lacking before *nb nfr*, probably *nkt*. The very scanty traces following *nfr n* suggest the seated figure holding a flower which was here used to write the first person singular suffix as again farther on in the same line: *mtw-w . . . n-i*. *mtw-w* seems to stand parallel to *nty iw-w*. The restoration of *mtw-k* (instead of *mtw-w*) which would have linked this part of the sentence with the lost verb at the beginning (presumably *iw-k irt* or something similar) is improbable because the depression in the stone below *mtw* is too shallow for ☐; perhaps ʾ was used. The sign after *mtw-w* looks almost like another ☐ or possibly a ☐ or a ☐. A sentence comparable with this one appears in the papyrus of Neskhnos (VII/30; Gunn-Edwards, *JEA* 41, 93 and 103): *ir mdt nb(t) nty iw-w nfr n Ns-hnsz mtw-w ntri s(y) . . . iw-i ir-w n-s drw* 'Anything which will be good for Neskhnos and which will deify her. . . . I will do them all for her'.

(l. 3) *hwz*: Daressy, *Rec. trav.* 18, 50, translated *hwz* 'corruption' as if it were from the stem *hwz* 'to decay'. But the use of the determinative ☐ excludes such a possibility. *hwz* seems to be a late form of *hwi* 'to strike'.<sup>1</sup>

*n-imw-w*: Direct object of *hwz*, is introduced by the preposition *m* (*im* before the pronoun) as in Coptic *ⲙⲓⲙⲱⲩ*. Cf. Spiegelberg, *Rec. trav.* 26, 34-35. The latter quotes an example of this form from a stela of the Twenty-second Dynasty in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Caminos (*JEA* 38, 54) noted another example in the Silsilah inscription of Sheshonk I. The writing with prefixed — occurs sporadically at this period. Cf. Erman, *Neuaeg. Gram.*, § 605.

*iw-k šd (w)i*: The use of the seated figure holding a flower as a writing of the dependent pronoun *wi* occurs again on the statue of a contemporary of Osorkon II in the Cairo Museum (CGC 42206). On the left side of the seat the man's mother is represented as saying of Amūn: *ⲙⲓⲙⲱⲩ ⲙⲓⲙⲱⲩ ⲙⲓⲙⲱⲩ ⲙⲓⲙⲱⲩ* 'He made me Mistress of my city; he caused me to be revered in his temple.'

(ll. 3-4) *Imn P̄rr Pth B̄stt nbt B̄st Wsir Hr Ist*: If we admit the probability that this enumeration of gods is the same as that in line 6, only the name of Pth remains to fill the lacunae at the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4. But the group ☐ is not sufficient to fill up the available space as far as one can judge of it by lines 6 and 7 which present the maximum preserved width of the stela (about 22½ cm. The original width must have been about 25 cm.). On the other hand, the name at the beginning

<sup>1</sup> For a different interpretation of this passage see Yoyotte, *Les Principautés du Delta au temps de l'anarchie libyenne*, § 15, *Mélanges Maspero*, nouvelle série (in the press).






of line 4 is written  $\overline{\text{B}}^{\circ}$  as if it were the name of the city rather than that of the goddess. The logical conclusion seems to be that Bastet was here called  $\overline{\text{B}}^{\circ} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}}^{\circ} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}}^{\circ}$ .

(ll. 4-5) 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎡𐎴𐎧𐎺𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎶𐎣𐎲 etc.: *iw.k šd [wi r nry]w šhd r nry.w b:w*. The reconstruction seems certain.






















(ll. 5–6) *iw-k p<sub>hr</sub> hst-i* 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗

(l. 6) [*nty i:w*] *Imn* - - - - *hr n-i*  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{wavy line} \\ \text{diagram} \end{smallmatrix} \right] n-i:mw-[w]$ : The traces of signs at the beginning and end of line 6 are inconclusive but do not contradict the possibility of this reconstruction of the sentence which was suggested to me by Černý, and which seems to me to be the most plausible interpretation. *Hr* usually takes the preposition *hr* when it means 'to be pleased with' someone or something. However, late texts sometimes substitute *m* for *hr* (*WB* II, 497-9). In our case *n* replaces *m*.

(1. 7) [𓂏𓂐𓂑] [tw-k] ts try-i prt mwy pr m htw-i: Cf. Mariette, *Abydos*, II, pl. 35, l. 16, where Ramesses IV says to Osiris: *mtw-k ts try-i prt (m) nswwt m ps ts r šsr nhh dt* 'Thou shalt establish my issue as kings in the land forever and ever'; and *ibid.* I, tableau 36, where Amūn addresses Sethos I saying: *ntk sr-i mr n ib-i mwy pr m htw-i* 'You are my son beloved of my heart, the seed which came forth from my limbs'.

(l. 8)  *m hkw sw n Kmt*: This title occurs on the Bubastite gate at Karnak applied to Osorkon I; cf. *Epigraphic Survey, Univ. of Chicago, Karnak*, III, pl. 14, and in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak referring to Herihor  cf. Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, 234. *Wb* II, 330 quotes another example  for which no reference is given. On the other hand, it is possible that the title at the beginning of the line read: *wsw sw n Kmt*. Cf. Piankhy stela, line III.

*wrw wrw n M*: On this title cf. Gardiner's note *JEA* 19, 23. The sign used in writing *wr* is not the old man bent forward, but the man standing erect, a frequent substitution in this title at this period. Cf. Stela of Sheshonk, Great Chief of the Meshwesh (Blackman, *JEA* 41, passim); altar of Sheshonk I from Herakleopolis (Tresson, *Mélanges Maspero*, II, pl. opp. p. 840, l. 12); Serapeum stela of Padiëse (Mariette, *Serapéum*, pl. 24).

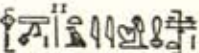
(ll. 8–9) The traces in front of the bird at the beginning of line 9 clearly belong to the group . The title is therefore probably                     *waru ru n(w) hystyu* 'Great chiefs of the foreign peoples'.




(l. 9) *h<sub>3</sub> hrw-i n...*: The sign for *hrw* is not very clear but if *mdt* were intended the sign would more likely have been written as at the end of line 5. The sense of the sentence probably was: 'My voice will reach their ears and be obeyed'. Cf. in this connexion P. Anas. IV, 5, 11: *ir mdt iw r m krrt hr h<sub>3</sub>y m msdr-k*, translated by Caminos (*Late Eg. Misc.* 153) 'As for speech, even an utterance from a cavern comes down into thy ear.'




(1. 10) [f]w-k phr hst-w m-sj sj Rr (Wsrkn mry Imn sj Bstt): The king is here speaking





of himself in the third person. In the following sentence he lapses again into the first singular.



(ll. 10-11) *iw-k dit-w*  *hr* [*šmt hr tȳ-i*] *mit*: For *di* + object and pseudo-participle, cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.* (3rd ed.) xxxiii, addition to § 304, 1. Cf. also Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. 18, 2, 5: *diw Kmt hr nhm* 'who causes Egypt to rejoice'; P. Salt 124, Recto 2, 15-16 (Černý, *JEA* 15, pl. 44): *mtw-tw dit rmt hr rsi Nfr-ḥtp* 'And they caused men to watch Neferhotep'. *Šm* is the verb most frequently employed in this idiom. Cf. *Urk.* iv, 118 and 504. For *mit* see line 20 below.




(l. 11-12) *bḳ-ib n sn*  *sn-f*: The writing  seems certainly to be a variant of  (*Wb.* I, 479). The combination *bḳ-ib*, forming an abstract, is one of those expressions of which the precise meaning remains to be determined. Piankoff (*Le Cœur*, 110) defines it as 'fier, arrogant'. In our inscription the context suggests that *bḳ-ib* signifies a state of dissatisfaction based on envy. Such a meaning would be appropriate also to the only other example of the expression which I have been able to check, that in *Urk.* iv, 62. A third example (*Wb. Beleg.* I, 479, 11) from a statue in Turin, is unpublished.



(ll. 12-13) [  ] *hmt nswt* or *hmt nswt sṯ nswt* are the titles given to Karoma in the festival hall at Bubastis and on the bracelet of her son Hornakht (Montet, *Osorkon II*, 68).

*nṯ-i*: The seated king figure used for the first person singular suffix in line 11 above, has been omitted here.

(l. 14) [] *iw-k dit* *cnḥ nȳ-s hr dw tȳw*  *nȳ-s* [*hr dw st-hmt*]: This is the most probable reconstruction of the sentence. It is curious that in the reliefs of the festival hall at Bubastis the Queen appears at least twice accompanied by her daughters but no sons are mentioned.

(l. 15) [ ] *iw-i hḥb* *sn* etc.: As in *Amenemope*, I, 6 (Lange, *Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope*, 24) *r cn smi n hḥbw sw* 'in order to return and inform him who had sent him'. *sn* presumably refers to the male children.

(l. 16)  *Pywd*, Copt.  (B);  (F): In late times this was the name used to designate Libya or the Libyans. Cf. Posener, *Première domination perse*, 186.

 *si[kn]*: Since, in line 17, the god is requested to repulse the *Pywd*, it is to be presumed that the latter came with evil intentions, and the signs  at the end of the line suggest the verb *sikn* 'to destroy'. So the sentence read something like: 'The *Pywd* who come in order to destroy your very pure temple (?)'.

(ll. 17-19) This sentence is not very clear but I should suggest that the meaning was: 'You will repulse them and you will cause my followers to fight against the followers of every enemy of the land while he is fleeing.' The word *hṯnw*, twice repeated, seems to be a writing of *hṯnw* 'adherents, followers, partisans'.

### Conclusion

With the missing two or three lines at the beginning of the text we have lost the date, the name of the god to whom the statue was dedicated, and the occasion of the



dedication. There is nothing specific in the preserved part of the text which can remedy this loss but the general tenor of the inscription suggests a date in the early part of the reign of Osorkon II. This impression is reinforced by a consideration of the symbolic significance of our statue.

The statue of Osorkon II is to be compared with a group of statues of very similar form showing a king kneeling on one knee, his other leg outstretched behind him, and presenting a small chest or altar on which are incised his two cartouche names. Such statues were dedicated on or shortly after the coronation to commemorate the ceremony at which the king offered his titulary to a specific god for approval, thereby putting it, and by extension the king who bore it, under the god's protection.<sup>1</sup> Cyril Aldred in his study of a statue of Ramesses IX belonging to this group, supposes that in the actual ceremony the god showed his approval by some movement signifying assent, as in the case of oracular consultations.<sup>2</sup>

The statue of Osorkon II may conceivably be considered as an evolved form of the statues belonging to this group which are on the whole anterior in date. While continuing to depict the presentation of the royal titulary (cf. the cartouches on the sides of the 'bridge' and the complete titulary around the base) thus soliciting the protection of the god in a general way, our statue invokes that protection more particularly by the simultaneous submission of a detailed list of demands engraved on a stela. A kind of 'programme' for the entire reign is outlined in which the greatest number of foreseeable circumstances requiring the active intervention of the god are mentioned. This 'petition' is addressed by the king speaking in the first person to the god, and the whole was to be assented to by the latter in the conventional way—that is by a particular gesture of the god's statue. The text of our stela can therefore be considered to partake of the nature of oracular consultation.<sup>3</sup>

If this interpretation of the significance of our statue is correct, we are justified in supposing that it was dedicated at the beginning of the reign and probably not long after the coronation. We can cite likewise in support of this affirmation, the youthful appearance of the king, although this alone would not be sufficient evidence.

As has already been pointed out, our statue resembles those studied by Müller, Aldred, and Matthiews in general attitude but the earlier statues, with the exception of the Amenophis IV in Berlin, bend far forward in an almost prone position, whereas the body of our statue, though also leaning forward, is much more erect. This difference in the angle of prostration of the various statues does not, I think, necessarily reflect a real difference between the genuflexions performed by the king in the Nineteenth as opposed to the Twenty-second Dynasty. The lesser angle attested in the Osorkon statue was more probably necessitated by the fact that in order to adapt his figure to the height of the stela which it held in front of it, the sculptor was obliged to portray it in a semi-erect position. On the contrary, the modest dimensions of the altars presented

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Militza Matthiews, *JEA* 16, 31–32; Cyril Aldred, *JEA* 41, 3; H. W. Müller, *Studi . . . Rosellini*, 11, 181 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Aldred, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., for example, 'Stela of Sheshonk, Great Chief of the Meshwesh', (Blackman, *JEA* 27, 83); 'The Dakhleh Stela' (Gardiner, *JEA* 19, 19); 'The Decree of Am onrasonthor for Neskhons' (Gunn, *JEA* 41, 83), etc.



by the earlier statues favoured a more horizontal composition. Again, in the case of the Osorkon statue, the height of the stela, perhaps influenced by the length of the inscription to be placed upon it, may account for the unusual size of the statue—approximately life size—as compared with the others of this series which are considerably smaller.

The identity of the god to whom the statue was dedicated and who is addressed in the text remains doubtful. That it is a god (and not a goddess) is proved by the king's use of the masculine pronoun in addressing him. Logically one hesitates to identify him with any of the gods mentioned in lines 3-4 (and again in line 6) of the text (Amūn, Prē, Ptaḥ, Osiris, and Horus) against whose displeasure the king demands protection, although theoretically Amūn presents himself to mind as one of the most likely possibilities. It is, of course, not to be overlooked that Amūn-Rē, as distinguished from Amūn and Prē separately, may have been addressed. On the other hand, the god could be any one of the local forms of the great gods worshipped at Tanis. These theoretical possibilities notwithstanding, the most plausible theory is that the god addressed was identical with the god to whom the temple in which the statue stood was dedicated. There can be no doubt that during the period of the Twenty-second Dynasty this god was Amūn.

To turn now to Osorkon's petition, for that is undoubtedly the nature of the inscription despite the fact that it is couched in such affirmative language. The text presents us with a well-constructed document of which the content falls conveniently under three headings:

1. Relations with the gods.
2. Domestic affairs.
3. Military matters.

Under the first heading the king asks for protection against the displeasure of a certain number of gods and goddesses, no doubt those considered most important at the period: the three national gods, Amūn, Prē, and Ptaḥ; Bastet, the goddess of the capital city; and the Osirian family. This initial protection assured, he proceeds from the negative to the positive and asks for divine aid in the carrying out of works pleasing to the gods, in order to gain their approval. Such works undoubtedly included the sumptuous celebration of the traditional festivals, the offering of gifts to the temples, and the building of splendid monuments.

Under the second heading the king requests long life for his queen, Karoma, and survival for her children who were destined to be his heirs and to fill the highest positions in the kingdom, lay and spiritual. The gods may have been less obliging in this respect than he hoped, as it is doubtful whether his successor Takelot II was, in reality, a son of Karoma. The two sons whom we know to have been borne by the queen—Sheshonq, High Priest of Ptaḥ, buried at Memphis, and Hornakht, High Priest of Amūn, buried at Tanis—are always careful to mention their mother's name on their monuments. But the mother of Takelot II is never mentioned and it is probable that he was the son of one of Osorkon's other wives. The position of prophet of Harsaphes mentioned in line 9 of the text was filled by Osorkon's son Nimrod (likewise



the son of a secondary wife) who later became High Priest of Amūn, probably on the premature death of Hornakht, whereas the title Great Chief of the Ma was still held by Osorkon's great-grandson Padiēse, donor of two magnificent stelae found by Mariette in the Serapeum.

But the family problem was by no means settled with the birth of a numerous male progeny. The great difficulty thereafter was to prevent the sons, once grown to manhood, from bringing about disaster by internecine conflicts. That such a danger was a very real one is proved by the whole history of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties, which chronicles a continuous struggle against the separatist tendencies manifested by any member of the family who became strong enough to entrench himself in a particular district and hold it. In order to prevent such a situation from developing in his time, Osorkon pleads with the god to make his children obedient to himself and tolerant towards one another.

The final division of the petition deals, as we have seen, with military matters. It is somewhat surprising to find that the sole adversary whom Osorkon seems to have feared or at least whom he found worth mentioning were the *Pywd*, people of his own stock. *Pywd* was the name applied throughout the Near East to the Libyan peoples who appeared upon the scene early in the first millennium B.C., replacing their predecessors the Meshwesh who had settled in Egypt. The latter when they first appeared on the western frontiers had caused considerable trepidation among the Egyptians. They were more or less successfully repulsed by Menepthah and Ramesses III but they nevertheless managed eventually to infiltrate into the Delta and Middle Egypt in considerable numbers. It is clear, however, that by the time Osorkon II came to the throne, although 'Great Chief of the Ma' continued to be widely used among them as an honorary title, there was no real link binding them to their country of origin or to the related tribes which had remained behind there. The Meshwesh had become Egyptianized. Osorkon therefore considered the movements of his turbulent relatives, the *Pywd*, as decidedly dangerous and dreamed of himself as commander-in-chief of an army with his sons as generals, inflicting resounding defeats on possible intruders from that direction. Whether it ever actually came to blows between them we cannot ascertain with certainty as no such action is mentioned in the texts of the period. Perhaps future research among the numerous texts left by the Libyan Kings and their followers will throw new light on the subject.

**Postscript:** The papyri published in I. E. S. Edwards, *Oracular Decrees of the Late New Kingdom* [reviewed below—Ed.] provide interesting parallels to some of the expressions used on our stela, such as the protection formula against the wrath of certain divinities (cf. Vol. II, pl. 1, Pap. L. 1, Rt., 42-43) and the phrase in line 15 of our inscription which, in the light of Pap. L. 1, Vs., 62-64 (Vol. II, pl. 3) should probably be restored: [*tw-k dīt h:b*] *sn h:ī mšr* etc., instead of [*tw-i h:b*] *sn* as I had proposed. The sentence then probably ends with *smi* and the next sentence perhaps started with *ir*: 'As for the Pywd who come', etc. On the whole our stela seems to have adapted to the specific needs of Osorkon II generalized formulae which were widely used at the same period in private documents of the oracular protection type.



# MENEPTAH'S AID TO THE HITTITES

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

IN his Great Karnak inscription Meneptah makes what has hitherto seemed an enigmatic statement. In line 24 he speaks of 'the *Pd·ty-šwt* whom I caused to take grain in ships to keep alive that land of Kheta'.<sup>1</sup> Up to the present it has appeared to mean that he sent out a philanthropic expedition to assist the Hittites. But the explanation is provided by discoveries at Boghaz Köi, the Hittite capital in Asia Minor, and at Ugarit in northern Syria. It was not a case of philanthropy, but it was a case of high policy, an effort at self-preservation.

Egypt had been in treaty relationship with the Hittites for fifty years, even since the twenty-first year of Ramesses II, 1269 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> and had undertaken to aid them. It was military aid that was stipulated,<sup>3</sup> and probably salvation from actual starvation had not then been envisaged. Hence, Meneptah's sending of food 'to keep alive that land of Kheta' while not required by the treaty was certainly in accordance with its spirit.<sup>4</sup>

Meneptah had no doubt been informed of the terrible conditions in Asia Minor, and moreover was himself suffering from attacks by Asianic tribes at the very time that he sent the grain. In fact both episodes are recorded in the one inscription.<sup>5</sup> He would, therefore, have been glad to do what he could to buttress anyone who might stand between him and further assaults. Certainly, what with sending the grain and repulsing the attacks on himself he was successful so far as he was concerned, as he suffered no more from the Northerners. But the flood was only dammed back for a couple of generations, to overflow once more in Ramesses III's eighth year, 1162 B.C.<sup>6</sup> While the

<sup>1</sup> W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, I, pl. 21, l. 24 = Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* III, § 580. Who these *Pd·ty-šwt* were is quite unknown (Sethe, in *ZÄS* 56, 53). The earlier statement in l. 22 that the invaders were 'going about the land fighting to fill their bellies daily' presumably only means that when in Egypt they were living off the land, as indeed landless emigrants must. Perhaps it was Meneptah's knowledge of conditions in their homelands that caused him to insert the statement. It does not necessarily mean that there was famine in Libya as well as in Kheta, as has sometimes been supposed.

<sup>2</sup> Ramesses II's accession is now firmly fixed at 1290 B.C. (Rowton, in *JEA* 34, 61 ff.), a date which has now been confirmed by a lunar calculation of Parker's in *JNES* 16, 43. Yet another independent calculation fixes the date at either 1301 B.C. or more probably 1290 B.C. (von Beckerath in *ZÄS* 81, 1-3). Presumably van der Meer's date of 1285 B.C. for Ramesses' accession would not stand up against these other three calculations (*Ex Oriente Lux*, 15, 93).

<sup>3</sup> Langdon and Gardiner, in *JEA* 6, 190, 191, §§ 6, 8.

<sup>4</sup> The sending of grain by friendly states to alleviate famine turns out to have been an old-established custom in the ancient Near East. In the First Intermediate Period Ankhtifi sent corn to the Nubians of Wawat during a famine from his town of Mo'talla in Upper Egypt (Vandier, *Mo'talla* (Cairo, 1950), p. 220, l. iv, 14). Similarly in the eighteenth century B.C. the country of Imar sent grain to Zimri-lim of Mari in Mesopotamia in the same circumstances, and Hammurabi of Babylon had also offered to do so, Dossin in *Bull. de l'Acad. roy. de Belgique, Classe de lettres*, 38 (1952), 235.

<sup>5</sup> Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pls. 17, l. 1; 21, l. 24. The tribes were the Teresh, Luka, Sherden, Shekelesh, and Ek'wesh.

<sup>6</sup> Rowton, *op. cit.*, p. 72, dates Ramesses III's accession to c. 1170 B.C., and there and on the next page answers possible objections to so low a date.



new invasion brought a number of Menephtah's old assailants, its main support consisted of new peoples from farther east; the Philistines, Tjekker-Zakkal, and Denyen.<sup>1</sup> In the same way the Hittite Empire survived the earlier troubles for two more generations before it was finally overwhelmed.<sup>2</sup>

The Hittite Empire, and as it proved, the whole Levant, was in dire need at this time. Not only did Menephtah find it desirable to send food, but just before he did this the Hittite king, who would have been Tudkhaliyas IV, had written to the king of Ugarit (Ras Shamra) on the north Syrian coast requiring his aid against two dangers. These were an enemy and once again famine. The king of Ugarit was a certain Ammurabi, contemporary with the last years of Ramesses II.<sup>3</sup> The demand was, therefore, made only a few years before, or at the time of, Menephtah's sending of supplies which no doubt had similarly been requested by the Hittites from him also. Significantly enough the long correspondence of the Hittite kings with Ugarit ceases abruptly after Tudkhaliyas.<sup>4</sup>

Like the Hittite king, Menephtah also had relations with Ugarit, for not only did he send grain to Asia Minor, but a sword bearing his cartouche has been found at that city.<sup>5</sup> It is of non-Egyptian type, and this leads Schaeffer to think that the Pharaoh had ordered a supply of such weapons for his foreign mercenaries to be made there. But is it not more likely to mean that besides sending grain to Asia Minor he sent mercenaries to support Ugarit as well? In any case the existence of the sword is one more witness to the activities of Menephtah *vis-à-vis* the disturbances in the north—a veritable seething caldron toward the north, as Jeremiah (i. 13, 15) expressed it 600 years later, whence shall come 'all the families of the kingdoms of the north'.

Back at Boghaz Köi, his capital in Asia Minor, Arnuwandas III had much to say of the hunger that there had been in western Asia Minor in the time of his father Tudkhaliyas IV and of the various provisions he had supplied to relieve it. According to the most recent estimate Tudkhaliyas' reign is dated to 1250–1220 B.C.,<sup>6</sup> so that the latter part of it coincided with the first years of Menephtah, 1224–1204 B.C.<sup>7</sup> The date of the Karnak inscription is unfortunately lost. But Menephtah's action would have taken place at some time before his fifth year, for it is in that year that the Hymn of Victory is dated, and in it he claims to have pacified Kheta.<sup>8</sup> Thus, he would have sent the grain at some time before 1219 B.C., and this would have been in one of the latter

<sup>1</sup> Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, p. 53, pl. 46, l. 18. For these peoples see Wainwright in the forthcoming Bossert *Festschrift*. There were also the Weshesh, a people mentioned only here of whom nothing is known.

<sup>2</sup> After Tudkhaliyas IV to whom Menephtah would have sent the grain only two more kings are known, Arnuwandas III and Suppiluliumas II, Gurney, *The Hittites* (2nd edn.), p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> Virolleaud in *Comptes rendus de l'acad. des inscr. et belles lettres*, 1955, pp. 75, 76. Cf. also Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, III, p. 175, who also notes that it is contemporary with the sword bearing Menephtah's name which was found at Ugarit. M. Virolleaud supposes that the letter came from Egypt. But the Pharaoh never called himself 'the Sun' as does the writer of this letter. It was, however, the usual title of the Hittite kings, and it was the Hittites who were threatened with famine, not Egypt. This letter must, therefore, have come from the Hittite king.

<sup>4</sup> Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 169–76; *Id.* in *Rev. d'Ég.* 11, 139–45.

<sup>6</sup> Gurney, *op. cit.*, p. 216 for the date, and pp. 51 f. for a précis of the text.

<sup>7</sup> Rowton, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>8</sup> Spiegelberg in Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, pl. 14, l. 26.



years of Tudkhaliyas IV, the king who had required similar help from Ammurabi of Ugarit. This is no doubt correct seeing that the trouble was not finished in the time of 'Tudkhaliyas' son Arnuwandas.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the two kings, the Hittite and the Pharaoh, and no doubt Ammurabi, were coping with the same emergency, and the Pharaoh and Ammurabi were sending supplies to keep alive at least part of the Hittite Empire or its neighbours. That part was western Asia Minor, as will appear in the following paragraphs.

It is in his account of the Libyan invasion that Meneptah tells us that he sent his supplies to the land of the Hittites, and that the Libyans were accompanied by all those Northerners, the Ekwesh, Teresh, Luka, Serden, Shekelesh, and also the Meshwesh.<sup>2</sup> We have evidence that several of these peoples came from western Asia Minor. Thus the Luka would have been the inhabitants of the country known to the Hittites as the Lukka Lands which lay across from northern Caria to Lycia,<sup>3</sup> and Lycia itself was already known by that name in the time of the Trojan War.<sup>4</sup> The Teresh, as I trust I have shown satisfactorily,<sup>5</sup> would have been the Tyrsenoi and hence would have been living in Lydia whence they emigrated via Smyrna. The Ekwesh are commonly accepted as having been Achaeans of some sort,<sup>6</sup> and we find that there was a strong Mycenaean colony at Miletus just south of Lydia on the coast of northern Caria.<sup>7</sup> The fact that all these peoples had to emigrate overseas is evidence that conditions were bad back in their home countries, and they were evidently somewhere near Lydia, Caria, and Lycia.

Comparable to all this is the Hittite record which not only tells in full detail of the frightful famine and wrack and ruin at this very time, but also places it somewhere in Lydia or its neighbourhood, just as the emigration of the Teresh-Tyrsenoi has already indicated that there would have been trouble in that area. The famine stalked the land round about Arzawa,<sup>8</sup> the Maeander River-country forming one of its centres, according

<sup>1</sup> Arnuwandas himself (1220-1190 B.C.) not only inherited the trouble in western Asia Minor but had a new one of his own in the eastern part of the country. This was due to the activities of a certain Mita of Pahlhuwa, Gurney in *LAAS* 28, 45 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Improbable as it seems at first sight, there is evidence that the Meshwesh aristocracy came from western Asia Minor. I hope to go fully into this question in the near future.

<sup>3</sup> Garstang and Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, pp. 81 f.

<sup>4</sup> Sarpedon and Glaukos came from there, *Iliad*, ii, 876-7; v, 479; xii, 310-13, etc. See further Phythian-Adams in *Bull. Brit. School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*, 1, *The Hittite and Trojan Allies*, p. 4; Wainwright in *JEA* 25, 153.

<sup>5</sup> Wainwright, *The Teresh, the Etruscans and Asia Minor* in *Anatolian Studies*, 9 (1959), pp. 197-213.

<sup>6</sup> Smolenski in *Ann. Serv.* 15, 73-75. 87, records the various views held about them. The difficulty in accepting them as Achaeans has always been that they are said to have been circumcised. The essential word is *hrnt* and its meaning has been much discussed, see, for example, Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* III, p. 247 n. h, p. 249 n. a; Bissing in *ZAS* 72, 74-76; Hölscher, *Libyer und Ägypten*, p. 45; Edgerton and Wilson, op. cit., p. 14 n. 24a, p. 15 nn. 6-30.

<sup>7</sup> Stubbings, *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant*, p. 23; *Anatolian Studies*, 8 (1958), pp. 30 f. Miletus appears in the Hittite texts as Millawanda, Milawata; it was under the control of the king of Ahhiyawa-Mycenae, and was at that time a centre of disturbance especially in the Lukki Lands (Garstang and Gurney, op. cit., pp. 75. 80 f.). For Ahhiyawa as the land of the Achaeans see n. 1, p. 28 *infra*.

<sup>8</sup> Seeing that it was round about Arzawa that there was the famine and also that the above-named two tribes came from that neighbourhood, it is strange that this country is not named by Meneptah, though admittedly his lists contain several lacunae. The name had occurred a couple of generations earlier among Ramesses II's



to Mellaert<sup>1</sup> or, as Garstang and Gurney would prefer, that of the Hermus valley.<sup>2</sup> In the latter case Arzawa would have been in the heartland of Lydia and in the former just across the southern border in northern Caria. Moreover, the man to whom the Hittite king addressed his reproaches was a certain Madduwattaš; his name is of a similar construction to those of Alyattes and Sadyattes, and they were kings of Lydia.<sup>3</sup> It is evident, therefore, that the famine was raging in western Asia Minor somewhere in or near Lydia, that it was thither that Meneptah sent his grain, and that it was thence that his assailants set out. Meneptah's account of the attacks of the Northerners upon himself is the continuation of the story begun in Asia Minor under Tudkhaliyas.

The Hittite story is as follows. Arnuwandas reproaches Madduwattaš for his ingratitude for all that his (Arnuwandas') father, Tudkhaliyas IV, had done for him, saying:

Attarššiyaš the Aḫḫiyan drove thee, Madduwattaš, away out of thy land. Thereupon he also yet pursued thee and persecuted thee and willed thy, Madduwattaš', [evil] death, and would have killed thee. Then fleddest thou, Madduwattaš, to the father of the Sun (the Sun being the reigning Hittite king), and the father of the Sun saved thee from death and warded off Attarššiyaš from thee. Otherwise Attarššiyaš would not have desisted from thee and would have killed thee. Just as the father of the Sun had warded off Attarššiyaš from thee, then the father of the Sun received thee, Madduwattaš, together with thy women, thy children, thy troops, and thy chariot-warriors and gave thee chariots . . . , corn and seed-corn, everything in abundance, and he gave thee also beer and wine, malt<sup>4</sup> and malt-bread, rennet and cheese, everything in abundance. And the father of the Sun preserved thee, Madduwattaš, in life together with thy women, thy [children] and thy troops when you were hungry. And the father of the Sun saved thee from the sword of Attarššiyaš. The father of the Sun rescued thee, Madduwattaš, together with thy women, thy [children], thy servants, and together with thy troops and chariot-warriors, for otherwise would the dogs have devoured you from hunger. If you had escaped with your life from Attarššiyaš, you would have died of hunger.<sup>5</sup>

But this was not all, for the turmoil was continuous. Not only had all this been done to Madduwattaš, but he had also had his army annihilated by the Arzawans and he had 'fled alone' and 'his women, children, his prisoners and slaves had made off to the rocks'.<sup>6</sup> However, Madduwattaš himself was far from blameless, for later on he 'took the whole land of Arzawa'<sup>7</sup> and the neighbouring land of Ḫapalla as well.<sup>8</sup> Thus the wrack and ruin was widespread and continuous over a number of years, and the hunger that there was in western Asia Minor at that date was not due to a failure of

enemies at Kadesh, spelt *Irḫw* and it survived till 1162 B.C., when in his eighth year Ramesses III lists it as one of the countries overwhelmed in the general disaster (Edgerton and Wilson, op. cit., p. 53, pl. 46, n. 17a. For a full discussion of the name see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 129\* ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Mellaert in *Anatolian Studies*, 5 (1955), p. 82. Cornelius in *Revue hittite et asianique*, 16, 10, points out that two of its cities were Apasa and Pariana, clearly Ephesus and Priene respectively. This is similarly remarked by Garstang and Gurney, op. cit., p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> A. Götze, *Madduwattaš*, p. 40 (*MVAG* 32 (1927), Heft 1).

<sup>4</sup> Malt was used as a primary food in Mesopotamia from the Sumerian period onwards and also probably in ancient Egypt (Nims in *JEA* 45, 63 with references). Broad beans steeped and sprouted are eaten in Egypt today under the name *fūl madāmīs*.

<sup>5</sup> Götze, op. cit., pp. 3 ff., from whose German translation the above is Englished.

<sup>6</sup> Id., op. cit., p. 13, ll. 46 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Id., op. cit., p. 25, l. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Id., op. cit., p. 33, l. 56.



the crops but to the general insecurity of the times, and especially to attacks and depredations by Attarššiyaš the Ahhiyan.

As said above, the Ekwesh have long been thought to have been Achaeans of some sort. It now turns out that they would have been some of the people of Ahhiyawa such as Attarššiyaš. It is now generally agreed among scholars that this name represents in some way the Achaioi of the Homeric epic.<sup>1</sup> While Attarššiyaš the Ahhiyan was afflicting the lands of the Teresh in Arzawa-Lydia it is also evident that other Achaeans, this time the Ekwesh, were also restless and on the move. On this occasion they were not harassing, but joining with, these emigrés and others in wider adventures still. It may well be that they came from the Mycenaean colony of Miletus which was neighbour to the Teresh and the Luka.

Thus, then, it was evidently these depredations of Attarššiyaš the Ahhiyan (Achaean) and no doubt other similar disturbances which about 1219 B.C. sent the Ekwesh (Achaeans), Teresh (Tyrsenoi-Etruscans), Luka (Lycians), and presumably the others overseas to the southern shores of the Mediterranean, and it would all have been part of the general turmoil which in due time resulted in the destruction of the Hittite Empire. The trouble lasted for another two generations, for some sixty years later, in the reign of Ramesses III, 1162 B.C., three of these tribes who had come against Meneptah, the Sherden, Teresh, and Shekelesh, were forced to move out again, as were the Meshwesh in 1165 and 1159 B.C. This time they were accompanied by new peoples, the Denyen (Danaoi?—Danuniyim), Peleset (Philistines), Tjekker (Teukroi), and Weshesh, but by then the Ekwesh and the Luka had ceased from troubling.

<sup>1</sup> Garstang and Gurney, *op. cit.*, p. 81. Like the home of the Ekwesh the position of Ahhiyawa has been much discussed (see Gurney, *The Hittites*, pp. 53-56). In *Minoica*, pp. 366, 380 (*Festschrift J. Sundwall*, 1958) Schachermeyr gives a list of the various suggestions made, Mycenae, Rhodes, Crete, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Cyprus without, however, including Miletus.



# A SELECTION OF TUTHMOSIDE OSTRACA FROM DĒR EL-BAĤRI

By WILLIAM C. HAYES

THANKS to the publications of Černý, Gardiner, Posener, Daressy, and others, students of the Ramesside dynasties have been able to avail themselves of the rich and varied fund of information on this phase of Egyptian history preserved to us on the hieratic ostraca of Bibān el-Molūk, Bibān el-Ĥarīm, and Dēr el-Medinah.<sup>1</sup> That students of the Tuthmoside age have been less fortunate in this respect is not attributable to dearth of material, for the temples of Dēr el-Baĥri and their vicinity have yielded a comparable harvest of inscribed ostraca datable for the most part to the reign of Tuthmosis III, including the twenty-odd years (years 2–22) when Ĥatshepsut ‘administered the Two Lands by reason of her plans’.<sup>2</sup> A few of these have been reproduced in facsimile and transcription by the scholars already referred to,<sup>3</sup> and partial translations of half a dozen others will be found in Winlock’s *Excavations at Deir el Baĥri*;<sup>4</sup> but there remain, chiefly in the storage areas of the Cairo Museum, hundreds of their no less interesting mates still awaiting publication.

Of the latter 400 were found by the Metropolitan Museum’s expedition during the seasons of 1922–3 (field nos. 23001.1–229), 1923–4 (negative nos. M5C.255, 256), 1926–7 (field nos. 27056.1–51, 27057.1–9), and 1929–36 (negative nos. CC 13 ff.–CP O ff.). They come, respectively, from an ancient dump between the temple avenues of Ĥatshepsut and Nebĥepetrē Mentuĥotpe, which was covered late in the reign of Tuthmosis III by that king’s avenue to Dēr el-Baĥri (238 ostraca);<sup>5</sup> from the forecourt of the Ĥatshepsut temple (1 ostrakon);<sup>6</sup> from the ‘Assasīf Valley, east of Dēr el-Baĥri (68 ostraca);<sup>7</sup> from the vicinity of the tomb of Sennemūt (no. 353) at the western end of the quarry from which the shale for the embankment of Ĥatshepsut’s temple avenue was obtained (9 ostraca);<sup>8</sup> from the fill of the first terrace (second court) of the temple itself (38 ostraca);<sup>9</sup> from the steep slopes to the north and west of it (23 ostraca);<sup>10</sup> and from the foot of the ‘Assasīf Valley, near the lower, or eastern, end of Tuthmosis III’s avenue (23 ostraca).<sup>11</sup> The great majority were ‘exported for study’ to New York and were photographed, transcribed by Ludlow Bull and myself, and in some cases copied in facsimile before being returned to Cairo in 1953 in compliance with a specific

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, von Beckerath, *ZDMG* 106, 241 ff.; Christophe, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 52, 113 ff.; *Bibl. Or.* 14, 10 ff.; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des mittleren und neuen Reichs*, *passim* (see, for example, 456–64); *ZDMG* 105 27 ff.; Sauneron, *Chron. d’Ég.* 26, 46 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Urk.* IV, 60, 1–2. See Schott, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1955, Nr. 6, 212 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Hierat. Pap. Berlin*, III, pl. 30; Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pls. 16 (6 = O. Leipzig 24), 17 (2 = O. Gardiner 18), 20 (4 and 5 = O. Gardiner 26 and 10), 36 (2 = O. Leipzig 13), 56 (5 = O. Gardiner 51).

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 79–81, 136, 150–2.

<sup>5</sup> Winlock, *Excavations*, 75 ff., 202.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* 91 (see *Bull. MMA* 19 [1924], Dec., pt. II, 20, fig. 20).

<sup>7</sup> See *op. cit.*, 133, 135, 200.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* 135 ff., 150–2, pl. 61, top.

<sup>9</sup> See *op. cit.* 208, 218, 219.

<sup>10</sup> See *op. cit.* 173–5, 200.

<sup>11</sup> See Lansing, *Bull. MMA* 30 (1935), Nov., sect. II, 3–16; 32 (1937), Jan., sect. II, 4–5.



request from the Egyptian Government. Those found between 1929 and 1936 were denied export from Egypt, but were photographed at Thebes by Charles Wilkinson during the spring of 1948.<sup>1</sup> In 1923 and again in 1927 a number of the more interesting hieratic texts found at those times were transcribed 'on the spot' by Sir Alan Gardiner, and his transcriptions, preserved in the expedition's notebooks, have of course been consulted in preparing the plates of the present article.

Out of the lot twenty-one inscribed flakes of limestone and fragments of pottery have been singled out for publication here because they provide specific information of one sort or another on three events of more than ordinary interest to the historian of the Tuthmoside era: (I) the foundation, construction, and maintenance of Djoser-djeseru—Hatshepsut's temple at Dēr el-Bahri—under Sennemūt and his more distinguished contemporaries; (II) the preparation of Sennemūt's unfinished 'royal' tomb below the forecourt of the temple, together with an indication of his importance at the time of this operation; and (III) building operations carried out during the last decade of Tuthmosis III's reign in the temples called Djoser-akhet and Djoser-menu (?) under the supervision of no less a person than the vizier Rekhmirē.

In the interest of clarity and economy of space it has seemed best to present our ostraca in the form of a *catalogue raisonné* with a brief commentary accompanying each translation and a few remarks of a general nature appended at the end of each of the three groups of inscriptions. An attempt has been made to arrange the ostraca of groups I and III in their original chronological order.




#### I. Ostraca relating to Djoser-djeseru and its Builders (pls. IX–XI)

1. MMA Negative no. CO 9. Fragment of a limestone flake, dimensions unrecorded, found during the season of 1929–30 'above the Hatshepsut temple' (see Winlock, *Excavations*, 200). Preserved are the ends of four lines of hieratic text written in a literary hand of early Eighteenth Dynasty type (cf. Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* 1, 'Ebers'). Several groups in lines 1, 2, and 4 are written over erasures, as indicated in the transcription (. . .). Pl. IX.

##### *Translation:*

1. . . . (from the . . . of King) [Neb]hepet (?)<sup>2</sup>[rē], the justified, to the wall
2. . . . [th]e plumb-line,<sup>3</sup> the sacrificial (steer?)<sup>4</sup>
3. . . . 27 cubits, 2 palms, 1 digit.
4. . . . (King) [Neb]hepet (?) [rē], the just[ified], . . .

<sup>1</sup> Metropolitan Museum negative nos. CC 13, 18, 19, 29, 31–33; CD 23, 24; CE 12, 14; CF 5, 10, 16; CG 11, 20; CH 0, 1, 8, 9, 17, 18; CJ 1, 9, 10; CM 12, 24, 25, 28–37; CN 0–4, 10, 11, 19, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32–35, 37; CO 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 13, 15–17, 22, 23, 25–27, 29, 30, 34, 35; CP 0, 1, 3, 4, 7–9, 15–17—now on file in the Museum's Photographic Division.

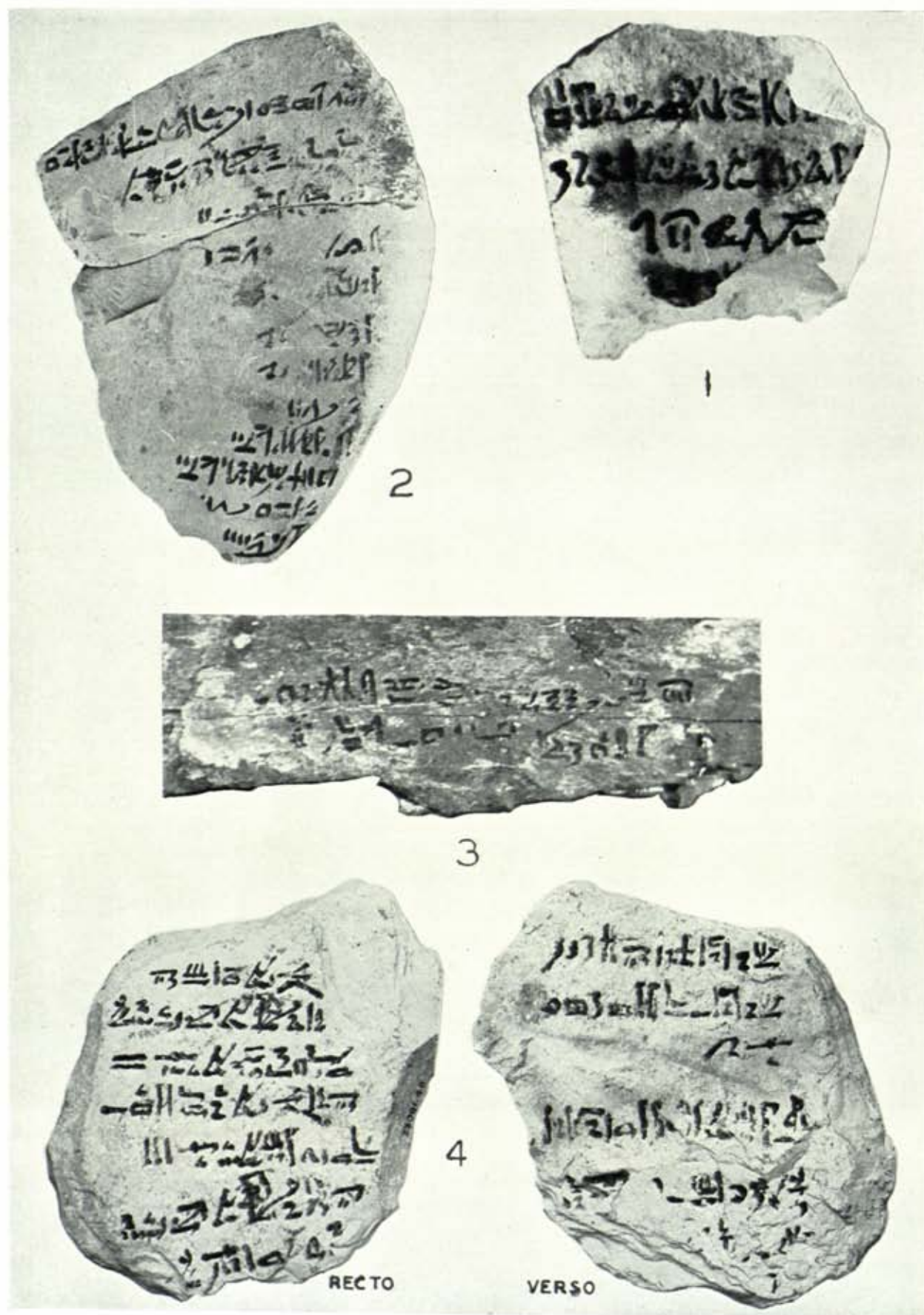
<sup>2</sup> The following . . .  makes it probable that we have here and in line 4 an unusual hieratic form () of the *hpt*-oar (contrast the normally written *hrw*-oar of *mr-hrw* in the same line) and hence part of the praenomen of Nebhepetrē Mentuhotpe of the Dyn. XI, the owner of the mortuary temple immediately adjoining that above which our ostrakon was found. For the writing of this king's name with  during the New Kingdom see, for example, Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahari*, III, pl. 11; P. Abbott 3, 14 (Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies*, 39, pl. 2).

<sup>3</sup> *hrw*. See Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, 87 (91); Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē* 81, pl. 11 (15).

<sup>4</sup> *šmr[tw]*: *Wb.* IV, 123 (15).







TUTHMOSIDE OSTRACA FROM DER EL-BAHRI



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4 recto

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 2  
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 6  
 7

4 verso





This tantalizing scrap seems to contain part of the draft of a description of the formal laying-out of an Eighteenth Dynasty temple—probably that of Ḥatshepsut—and of the rites and ceremonies which normally accompanied such an operation. The reference point alluded to in line 1 and perhaps again in line 4 was presumably some portion of the already existing temple and enclosure of King Nebḥepetrē Mentuḥotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty. The precision with which the new building was located and laid out is suggested by the detailed measurement of line 3 (= 14.3 m., or 46 ft. 10 in.).

2. MMA Negative no. CN 33. Limestone flake, dimensions unrecorded, found during the season of 1930-1 in the first terrace (second court) of the Ḥatshepsut temple (see Winlock, *op. cit.* 208, 218, 219). Inscribed on one side with twelve lines of hieratic text written in the characteristic 'business' hand of the reign of Tuthmosis III and Ḥatshepsut (see Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, 6). Pl. IX.

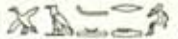
*Translation:*

1. Regnal year 10, month 1 of Shōmu, day 20. Making a *corvée*<sup>1</sup> for hauling stone
2. i[n] Djoser-djeseru: the serfs who are in the charge of Minmose.<sup>2</sup>
3. [the Scribe?] Pachrod,<sup>3</sup> (blocks of) stone, 42
4. the Scribe Ahmose, „ 28
5. Yauef „ 28
6. Nebamūn „ 7
7. Ibi,<sup>4</sup> „ 7
8. Total „ 112
9. the Scribe Iy, 56
10. the House of the King's Wife, the justified,<sup>5</sup> 56
11. Total (blocks of) stone, 112
12. Combined (total),<sup>6</sup> 224

The position in which this ostrakon was found indicates that construction work in stone was in progress in the upper portions of the temple in year 10 of Tuthmosis III. The Scribes Pachrod, Ahmose, Iy, and their associates were presumably in charge of

<sup>1</sup> *irt bh*. See Berlin P. 10615 (*Hierat. Pap. Berlin*, III, pl. 30) and the references cited in my *Ostraka and Name Stones* (69, 1), 34 and *Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 131.

<sup>2</sup> This is, without much doubt, the Granary Overseer Minmose, an official of Ḥatshepsut who is shown at Dēr el-Baḥrī assisting in a supervisory capacity at the transport of the first pair of the queen's obelisks (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, pl. 104; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 506, see also 396). The same man is named—again in the role of one of the royal architects or master-builders—as the addressee in the docket on a name-stone from Ḥatshepsut's Valley Temple, now in the Metropolitan Museum (accession no. 31.3.156. See Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, p. 46, n. 178), where he is referred to as *pt n tr imwt*, 'he of the granary'. There is considerable probability that he was the owner of a pit-tomb (MMA Expedition no. 59) just outside the north wall of the Ḥatshepsut temple court in which the Museum's expedition found fragments of a fine XVIIIth Dyn. coffin inscribed for 'Minmose, called Deneregi (*dnrg[ī]*)'. See also, below, ostrakon no. 14, vo. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Pt-hrd*. Apparently so to be read at this period, rather than as *Pt-hry* (Ranke, *Personennamen*, II, 116 [24]). Cf. Berlin P. 10618 (*Hierat. Pap. Berlin*, III, pl. 29) and a stela of the time of Tuthmosis III in the Metropolitan Museum, the owner of which writes his name  (accession no. 25.184.3. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, II, Index B, 'Pa-hered').

<sup>4</sup> Ranke (*op. cit.* 20 [9]) lists no example of this name earlier than the Late Dynastic Period.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the estate of Ḥatshepsut's mother, Queen Ahmose, or of some earlier and likewise 'justified' (i.e. deceased) XVIIIth Dyn. queen.

<sup>6</sup> (*Dmd*) *smr*. See *Wb.* v, 458 (1); Gardiner, *JEA* 30, 33, n. 6; and cf. ostrakon no. 12 of the present series, verso, line 9.

companies of statute labourers engaged in hauling stone under the general, or over-all, supervision of Minmose.

3. MMA Negative no. CM 25. Large fragment of shale (*tafl*), dimensions unrecorded, found during the season of 1930-1 in the first terrace of the Hatshepsut temple, immediately before the Punt colonnade (see Winlock, *op. cit.* 208, 218, 219). Two lines of hieratic text are neatly written in black ink on the single flat surface of the fragment. Pl. IX.

*Translation:*

1. Month 4 of Akhet, day 16. Beginning opening the doorway<sup>1</sup> of
2. the temple<sup>2</sup> in the mountain of Djeseru

Our inscription may have been a graffito written on the rock cutting beside the doorway referred to. It probably came originally from the upper terrace and without much doubt records the initiation of the cutting of the central sanctuary of the temple.

4. MMA Field no. 23001.48. Limestone flake, 14 × 13 × 2 cm., found during the season of 1922-3 in a hollow between the temple avenues of Hatshepsut and Mentuhotpe which had been used until late in the reign of Tuthmosis III as a dumping place for debris from the Dēr el-Bahri temples. Inscribed on each side with seven lines of hieratic text written in black ink. Pl. IX.

*Translation, recto:*

1. Work of this day. Those who
2. carried earth<sup>3</sup> in
3. Djeseru under the direction of Nakhte:<sup>4</sup> 8 men.
4. Those who worked the outer
5. door jamb: masons, 3 men.
6. Those who carried earth
7. under the direction of K̄r̄atuem...<sup>5</sup>

*Verso:*

1. The southern channel which is in the midst of<sup>6</sup>
2. the Channel of Bint-Shamash:<sup>7</sup>
3. 7 men.
4. Report of the Nubian mason, Terekaia:<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An expression used in texts of this period to describe the initial step in excavating a rock-cut chapel or sanctuary in the side of a hill or, as here, a cliff. Cf. Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, 23, 34, pl. 16, no. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Hwt ntr*. Here, as occasionally elsewhere, with the more restricted meaning of 'sanctuary' (Otto, *Unters.* 16, 23; *Urk.* iv, 427).

<sup>3</sup> *lwt n*. *Wb.* 1, 58 (10); Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 188 (under P. Anastasi, iv, 12, 5).

<sup>4</sup> Probably the Chief, or Foreman (*hry*), *Nht*, referred to on one of the unpublished ostraca of this series (MMA Field no. 23001.43, line 10).

<sup>5</sup> *K̄r̄-r̄-tw-m*... Apparently an African ('Nubian') name. It was not, in any case, recognized by Professor Albright as belonging to any group of western Asiatic names with which he is acquainted.

<sup>6</sup> *imytw* (*Wb.* 1, 76). See Gard. *Eg. Gramm.*, § 177, 2; Gauthier, *Bibl. d'Étude*, iv (line 45); Dümichen, *Geographische Inschriften*, III, 88.

<sup>7</sup> *Bnti-Šmš*. On this name Albright has written (in a letter dated Sept. 9, 1958): 'This would yield a feminine name *Bint-Šamš*, like the well-known *Bint-ʿanat*. Since Shamash was a goddess in Syria-Palestine in those days, this would be a very suitable name for a woman. Evidently the lady (if this explanation is correct) was well known in her day, otherwise it would be unlikely that a canal would be called after her.'

<sup>8</sup> *T̄r̄-k̄-i*, unquestionably an African or 'Hamitic' name. On *n̄hryw*, 'Nubians,' see the recent article by Posener, *ZAS* 83, 38-43.





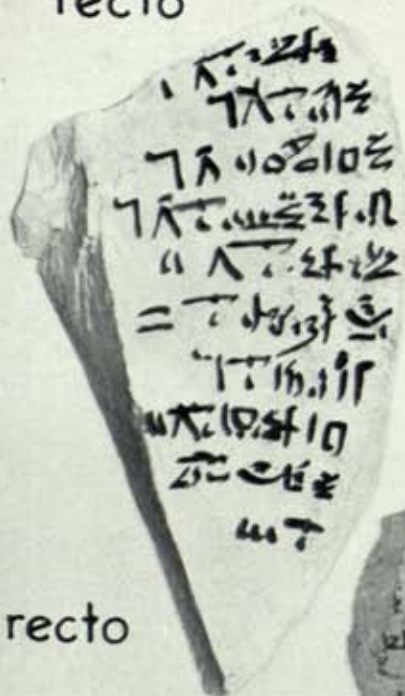


recto

5



verso



recto

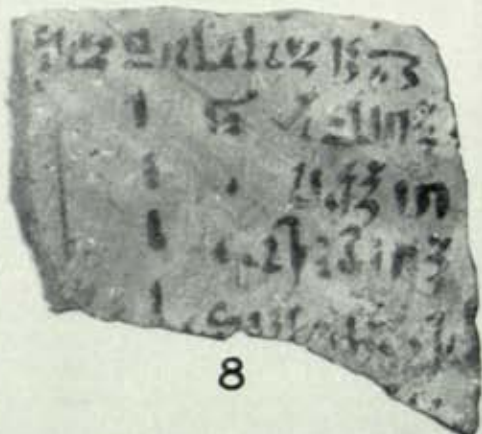
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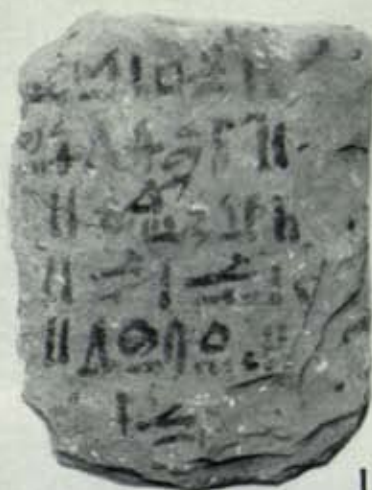
verso



7



8



recto

10



verso



11



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4 recto

5

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2 verso

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verso

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10 recto

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6  
10 verso

1  
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II





5. What was taken out on this day for [the Mistress of ?] the Two Lands<sup>1</sup> ...
6. the sarcophagus (??) ...
7. ...

If, as seems likely, the 'outer door jamb' of recto, lines 4-5, belonged to the first, or outermost, gateway of the temple, the 'earth' or 'flooring' being moved by the small gangs under Nakhte and his Nubian (?) colleague was probably fill for the forecourt immediately behind this gateway or for the embankment of the avenue leading up to it. Conceivably the gateway referred to was that opening into the temple's uppermost court<sup>2</sup> and the *iwtn* was fill or paving for the first or second terrace.

The verso lists another small group of workmen drawn from or employed on the southern branch (?) of a larger waterway or system of waterways. The latter, presumably in the neighbourhood of Thebes, appears to have been named in honour of an Asiatic woman, Bint-Shamash, 'Daughter-of-(the-sun-goddess-)Shamash'. *Šdi*, the passive participle of which occurs in line 5, was the term regularly used of extracting rough-hewn blocks of stone from a quarry.<sup>3</sup> The reading *nb-ꜥnh*, 'sarcophagus', in line 6 is extremely doubtful.

5. MMA Field no. 23001.208. Section of the lip of a large, wide-mouthed pottery jar of hard, medium, coarse, pink ware. Dimensions of fragment, 9.6 × 3.8 × 2 cm. Found in the same temple dump as no. 4. Inscribed on both sides in black ink, the inscription on the exterior (recto) running up over the rim of the jar. Pl. X.

*Translation, recto:*

1. ... [Djeseru],<sup>4</sup> day 8. Those who
2. . ? . ? . hauled stone
3. for the King's Wife, may (s)he endure for[ever]! ...
4. making 10 (blocks of) stone. The Chief ...

*Verso:*



1. ... [carried] (?) wood ...
2. ... [stone] for the *dꜣyt*,<sup>5</sup> 223; stone for the *mi* (?),<sup>5</sup> ...

This small ostrakon, of which not much seems to be missing, almost certainly records the transportation of building materials for the temple of Ḥatshepsut, who here,

<sup>1</sup> Ḥatshepsut.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., the granite gateway: Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, v, pls. 119-21; Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 36 (150. 160).

<sup>3</sup> It occurs with this meaning in the quarry or transport inscriptions on blocks from the pyramid of Sesostri I at Lisht (unpublished. Referred to by Lansing, *Bull. MMA* 28 (1933), Apr., sect. II, 4-8; Nov., sect. II, 6).

<sup>4</sup> The determinative  (which frequently replaces  in the name *Dꜣwt*, e.g. on our ostrakon no. 9, recto, 4; see also Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* vi, 132-4) and the reference in line 3 to the King's Wife (Ḥatshepsut) point strongly to this restoration. The text would perhaps have begun: 'Work in Djeseru, day 8 ...' or 'Amount of the work in Djeseru, day 8 ...'.

<sup>5</sup> If, as seems likely, the expressions [*inr*] *n dꜣyt* and [*inr*] *n mi* (?) are analogous to [*inr*] *n tms*, [*inr*] *n mi*, *qbt n snt*, and [*qbt n*] *kꜣpw* of our nos. 16, 17, and 19 (see below, under these), then *dꜣyt* and *mi* must be, not kinds of stone, but parts of the temple structure. *Dꜣyt* is probably the same as *dꜣy* of *Wb.* v, 519 (3). If so, it occurs in the well-known Satirical Letter (P. Anastasi, 1, 16, 8) as the name of part of a huge multi-celled (?) sand chamber, where it has both breadth and height, but no given length. See Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, 1, 18\*, n. 17, 56. '*Dꜣyt*' of *Wb.* v, 519 (2 = P. Harris 500, 8, 7) should be emended to read *sdꜣyt(-hr)* and transferred to its proper place in *Wb.* iv, 378-9 (see Gardiner, *Bibl. Aeg.* 1, 8 and 8a).

as in other informal memoranda of this class and period, is still referred to as 'the King's Wife'.<sup>1</sup> The 'stones' of recto, line 4, only ten of which were hauled in the course of the day, may have been large wall or lintel blocks; but the numerous blocks for the *djyt* must have been small stones such as were used for revetments, foundations, or fill.

6. MMA Field no. 23001.39. Limestone flake, 16.5 × 9 × 3 cm., found in the same temple dump as no. 4. Inscribed on both sides in black ink, the seven entries on the verso being arranged in two columns. Pl. X.

*Translation, recto:*

1. The numbering, 21 men
2. the Overseer of Treasurers, 35 men
3. the Steward Mer(y)rē, 25 men
4. the Scribe Amenhotpe,<sup>2</sup> 25 men
5. the King, 12 men
6. Nebenyam(u)yeb, 8 men
7. the First Prophet, 5 men
8. the House of the King's Wife, 13 men
9. the Overseer of Cattle, Nebwaʿw,
10. 3 men

*Verso:*

1. Paḥikmen, 10 men
2. ...-nefer (?), 2 men
3. ..., 10 men
4. Inyet,
5. 27 men
6. Nekheb, 23 men
7. 'Agan, 7 men
8. Hefat, 2 men

Several points of interest emerge from this record of workmen contributed by various institutions, individuals, and towns to the construction of Ḥatshepsut's temple.

Most striking is the insignificant role played by Ḥatshepsut's co-regent, Tuthmosis III, who is mentioned in line 5 of the recto merely as 'the King' (written without the usual divine determinative *ḥ*), sandwiched in between an ordinary scribe and a man with no title at all and credited with the fourth smallest contribution of men listed on the recto. A similarly casual listing of Tuthmosis III as 'the Pharaoh', or 'the Great House', in a roster of officials and institutions occurs also on our ostrakon no. 14, below.

The initial ligature of line 1 presents a difficulty, but the word is probably *tnw(t)*, the entry referring to men drawn from a national conscription of militia and/or labourers.<sup>3</sup> Of the other contributors no. 2 was almost certainly the Chancellor Neḥesy,

<sup>1</sup> See below, nos. 6 (recto, 8) and 14 (recto, 6, 10, 12, 14, 18). See also Schott, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1955, Nr. 6, 215; Hayes, *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 15, 79-80.

<sup>2</sup> Referred to on two unpublished ostraca from Dēr el-Baḥrī (MMA Field nos. 23001.127.177) and one from near the tomb of Sennemūt (no. 27057.1).

<sup>3</sup> *Wb.* v, 379 (5), cf. 376 (10 ff.). See Kees, *Ägypten*, 38, 231 f.; Helck, *Unters.* 14, 20; etc.



well known as the director of Ḥatshepsut's expedition to Punt;<sup>1</sup> no. 3 was just possibly the man who under Tuthmosis IV became Chief Steward,<sup>2</sup> though the time interval involved is more than sixty years; no. 7 was the High Priest of Amūn, Ḥapusonbe;<sup>3</sup> no. 8, the estate acquired by Ḥatshepsut as the queen of Tuthmosis II and still functioning under its original title;<sup>4</sup> and no. 1 of the verso very probably the Overseer of Works, Paḥikmen, the owner of Theban tomb no. 343,<sup>5</sup> here seen to have served under Ḥatshepsut. The towns of entries 4–8 of the verso—present-day Esnah, el-Kāb, el-Matāḥnah, and Aṣfūn,<sup>6</sup> respectively—are all to the south of Thebes. They are listed, apparently, according to their importance and the size of their contributions of men, not in geographical order from north to south.

7. MMA Negative no. CN 29. Flake of shale (*tafl*), dimensions unrecorded, found during the season of 1930–1 in the first terrace (second court) of the Ḥatshepsut temple, together with ostrakon no. 2, above. Inscribed on one side with six lines of hieratic text written in black ink. Only about half of line 1 and not more than two or three groups from the beginnings of lines 2–6 appear to be missing. Pl. X.

*Translation:*

1. . . . [greet]s the Scribe of the First Prophet
2. [of Amen-] Rē, King of the Gods, in the favour of Amūn . . .
3. . . . you regarding the one whom you have given to me. Behold, he is an old
4. man and is causing a little trouble for his
5. [son?], the stonecutter of Sennemūt, on the day
6. . . . 20 blows.<sup>7</sup>

This brief, but amusing, administrative letter or memorandum, addressed without much doubt to the secretary of Ḥatshepsut's High Priest of Amūn and Overseer of Works, Ḥapusonbe, may quite possibly refer to one of the five men listed in line 7 of the preceding ostrakon (no. 6). The writer of the note evidently does not intend to allow family problems to interfere with the efficiency of Sennemūt's corps of trained workers and has perhaps already meted out a punishment of twenty blows to the troublesome greybeard.

8. MMA Field no. 23001.160. Fragment ( $9 \times 8.5 \times 1.4$  cm.) of a large pottery jar of soft brown ware with grey surface, found in the same temple dump as no. 4. It is inscribed on the outside surface with six lines of hieratic text written in black ink. Pl. X.

*Translation:*

1. Those who are on the landing stage (?) of the channel . . . :
2. the Steward Sennemūt, 1 steer
3. the House of the Overseer of Treasurers, 1 „

<sup>1</sup> *Urk.* IV, 354. 419; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 346–8. 467 (4).

<sup>2</sup> Helck, *op. cit.* 367. 482 (10).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 286–9. 434–5.

<sup>4</sup> See the references given above, p. 34, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* 1, 182–3; Davies-Macadam, *Egyptian Funerary Cones*, nos. 441. 544; Helck, *Unters.* 14, 34, n. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 8\*–17\* (A323, 321, 324, and 326).

<sup>7</sup> *sh.* *Wb.* (III, 467–8) notes that *sh*t, 'blow', is also written in Late Egyptian without the final *t*, as here. On the use of *sh*(*t*) as a punishment see *ibid.* 468 (3. 4).



- |                                    |         |
|------------------------------------|---------|
| 4. the Steward Wadjrenpowet,       | 1 steer |
| 5. the Skipper of Amūn, Amenemhēt, | 1 „     |
| 6. ...                             |         |

We seem to have here the partial list of a distinguished reception committee and/or their offerings assembled on a water-front structure at the foot of Ḥatshepsut's temple avenue<sup>1</sup> on the occasion of the arrival, via a canal or channel from the Nile, of an important vessel—probably the barque of Amūn crossing over from Karnak. It is not unlikely that the *reis*, or boat captain, Amenemhēt, who is named together with three of Ḥatshepsut's foremost officials, was in command of the barque, its towing vessel, or one of its escorts. The (Chief) Steward Wadjrenpowet, though mentioned occasionally in inscriptions of the reign,<sup>2</sup> has left us few monuments of his own.<sup>3</sup>

9. MMA Negative nos. M5C.255, 256. Limestone flake,  $9.7 \times 8.3 \times ?$  cm., found in the spring of 1924 in a hollow in the south-east corner of the forecourt of Ḥatshepsut's temple (see Winlock, *Bull. MMA*, 19 (1924), December, sect. II, 20, fig. 20; *Excavations*, 91; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des mittleren und neuen Reichs*, 288; *Ägyptologische Studien Hermann Grapow . . . gewidmet*, 117). Inscribed on both sides with, respectively, seven and three lines of hieratic text written in a less cursive, more 'literary' hand than most of the other ostraca of this series. Pl. XI.

*Translation, recto:*

1. ..., [month 3] of Prōyet, day 23 (?). Receipt for the offering
2. brought by the wife of the First Prophet of Amūn, Ḥapu-
3. sonbe, Amenhotpe, which is for the House
4. of Amūn in Djeseru. Offering, 2 sacks:
5. Nubian beer,<sup>4</sup> 1 jug;
6. white bread, 2 loaves;<sup>5</sup>
7. *šꜣyt*-cake,<sup>6</sup> ... loaves

<sup>1</sup> This structure is called a *dꜣwt*, a word normally used of a pavilion or kiosk erected before a temple, in the line of approach to the main building (*Wb.* v, 532 [6, 7]). Here the determinative  $\square$  (in place of  $\square$ ) and the modifying phrase, 'of the channel,' suggest that we have to do with a covered (?) landing stage at the foot of the temple avenue. It is not unlikely that some portion of Ḥatshepsut's Valley Temple is referred to.

<sup>2</sup> Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 364-5. 479.

<sup>3</sup> Five 'name-stones', found by the Metropolitan Museum's expedition widely scattered below the tomb of Sennemūt (no. 71) on the south-eastern slope of the Shēkh 'Abd el-Ḳurnah, are inscribed for 'the Overseer of Works of the House of Amūn, the Chief Steward, Wadjrenpowet'. They are rough flakes of limestone ranging in size from  $15 \times 13 \times 3$  cm. to  $21 \times 19 \times 4$  cm. The inscriptions in two cases are engraved and in three cases written in black ink. Found during the season of 1935-6, the stones are believed to have been associated with one of the uncompleted, uninscribed tombs farther up the hill to the south of that of Sennemūt. Two are in the Metropolitan Museum (accession nos. 36.3.250, 251) and three in the Cairo Museum.

<sup>4</sup> *hꜣkt St(y)w*, a beverage of considerable antiquity, is listed in *Pyr.* 91b (see also Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts*, 1, 48). A concise discussion of the archaic-bow sign, with references, is given by Gardiner in the sign-list of his *Egyptian Grammar* (3rd ed., p. 512, top).

<sup>5</sup> *t-hꜣ šꜣn* 2. Precisely the same entry occurs in an allowance of offerings authorized by Tuthmosis III for the temple of Ptah at Karnak (*Urk.* iv, 770 [16]). On the reading here of  $\Delta$  see line 7 of this ostrakon and line 5 of the recto of ostrakon 10. The *Wb.* (III, 471 [1. 2]) rendering of the same or a related word, *šꜣn*, as a cake in the form of a cut of meat is questioned by Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 253\*-4\*.

<sup>6</sup> *Wb.* iv, 421 (3-8); cf. III, 471 (2). Our reading is almost certainly correct, though the remaining traces of what is taken to be the initial  $\square$  sign are not reassuring. On *šꜣy(t)* see also Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 14, 64,



*Verso:*

1. Large bird, . . . ;
2. small bird, 1;
3. incense for fumigation, 5 jars

The foregoing receipt, destined, no doubt, to be copied on to papyrus and duplicated in the temple records, suggests that at the time it was written the 'House of Amūn in Djaseru' was no longer under major construction, but was operating as a temple and receiving from Hatshepsut's officials and their families such carefully itemized donations of food and drink. The name of Hapusonbe's wife (Amenhotpe) appears to be preserved only on this ostrakon, a woman named Ahmose, listed by Legrain<sup>1</sup> as a possible wife, evidently having been his sister, as her title truly indicates.

10. MMA Field no. 23001.107. Flake of shale (*tafl*),  $9.2 \times 7 \times 1.4$  cm., found in the same temple dump as no. 4, above. Inscribed on each side with six lines of hieratic text written in black ink. Pl. X.

*Translation, recto:*

1. . . . the Scribe of the Steward Sennemūt,
2. . . . , 2. Offering, 10 sacks: bread,
3. 2 [loaves]; incense for fumigation, 2 jars;
4. . . . , 1; large bird, 1; small birds, 2;
5. [*šr*]yt-cake, 2 loaves;
6. . . . , shares (?)

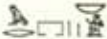
*Verso:*

1. . . . , 1. Offering, . . . sacks:
2. . . . , 1; incense for fumigation, 2 jars, and (?)
3. mixed loaves, 300. The Steward Ro-au,
4. offering bread, 1. Offering, 1 sack: *shn*-loaves, 2;
5. small bird, 1; incense for fumigation, 2 jars;
6. . . . , 2. The Holy Land (?), offering bread, 1

The interest of this rather commonplace little list of temple offerings lies of course in the mention of the two evidently contemporary stewards, Sennemūt and Ro-au (verso, line 3. See also Černý-Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. 36, 2, lines 7. 8).<sup>2</sup> The latter is probably the owner of a pair of limestone door jambs from a tomb on the Dirāc Abu'n Naga, now in the Metropolitan Museum (accession nos. 26.2.54, 55), which show that he was still in office late in the reign of Tuthmosis III and had by then attained the position of Chief Steward of Amūn.<sup>3</sup>

11. MMA Field no. 23001.85. Jar label (?): fragment,  $9.5 \times 9.3 \times 1$  cm., from the side of a large jar of coarse buff pottery. Found in the same temple dump as no. 4. Inscribed on the outside with three (or more) lines of hieratic text written in black ink. Pl. X.

64\*, II, 232\* (R 236, U rt. 2, A 141, A 548). The source of Winlock's reading, '*shafyt*-cakes', in *Excavations*, 91, is obscure.

<sup>2</sup> Emend the transcription of the beginning of line 7 of this ostrakon (O. Leipzig 13) to read: 



<sup>3</sup> Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, II, 129, fig. 67. See also below, p. 49.



*Translation:*

1. Regnal year 20, month 4 of Prōy[et], ...
2. Raṯya,<sup>1</sup> son of Wen (?) - ...
3. ... the Steward Ṭḥuṭḥot[pe] ...

By year 20 of Tuthmosis III the Dēr el-Baḥri temple had been built and decorated, Sennemūt appears to have already fallen from favour,<sup>2</sup> and Ḥatshepsut's own end was not far off; but the queen's (Chief) Steward Ṭḥuṭḥotpe was evidently still in office. Apart from the present inscription this important official is known to us from an inscribed knife in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>3</sup> and possibly from a statue in Copenhagen and a *shawabty* in Trieste.<sup>4</sup>

The eleven inscriptions somewhat cursorily dealt with in the preceding pages carry us from the founding of Ḥatshepsut's first (?) temple building at Dēr el-Baḥri<sup>5</sup> to a moment shortly preceding the great queen's disappearance from history. The first of these two events may have taken place as early as Tuthmosis III's second regnal year, when, as we now know, Ḥatshepsut was crowned pharaoh<sup>6</sup> and had probably already quarried her first pair of kingly obelisks.<sup>7</sup> The second event has recently been placed by Schott<sup>8</sup> in month V of regnal year 22, thus less than a year and nine months after the last inscription of the present series (no. 11) was written. In between we find blocks of stone being brought in year 10 for the upper portions of the temple structure (no. 2), the cutting of the central sanctuary being initiated (no. 3), the forecourt being graded and its gateway built (no. 4), more stone being hauled for 'the King's Wife' (no. 5), workmen being contributed by Ḥatshepsut's leading officials and by her co-regent, Tuthmosis III (no. 6), mention in an administrative memorandum of a 'stone-cutter of Sennemūt' (no. 7), a committee of high dignitaries or their offerings assembled on a propylaeum or covered pier perhaps to welcome the barque of Amūn on its annual visit to the temple (no. 8), and offerings of food and drink being presented to the nearly completed 'House of Amūn in Djeseru' by members of Ḥatshepsut's court (nos. 9, 10).

Of the many officials who participated more or less directly in the construction of Ḥatshepsut's funerary complex and who are mentioned by name and/or title in our eleven ostraca we find, besides Sennemūt (7, 5; 8, 2; 10 ro., 1), two men who also bore the title of Chief Steward of the king. These were Wadjrenpowet (8, 4) and Ṭḥuṭḥotpe (11, 3). The occurrence of the name of the latter in a text dated to year 20 suggests that he was the last of Ḥatshepsut's four known chief stewards to occupy the office.<sup>9</sup> Another steward, Ro-au (10 vo., 3), evidently served with Sennemūt under Ḥatshepsut, but reached the pinnacle of his career late in the independent reign of Tuthmosis III; while yet another, Mer(y)rēc (6 ro., 3), is otherwise unknown unless we suppose him

<sup>1</sup> See Ranke, *Personennamen*, 1, 220 (7).

<sup>2</sup> Winlock, *Excavations*, 152; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 363; Schott, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1955, Nr. 6, 218.

<sup>3</sup> Hayes, *Bull. MMA*, n.s. 7 (1948-9), 60. Accession no. 48.105.3.

<sup>4</sup> Helck, *op. cit.* 363. 478.

<sup>5</sup> Winlock, *Bull. MMA* 23 (1928), Feb., sect. II, 28-30, fig. 29; *Excavations*, 134-5, 153, end papers; Schott, *op. cit.* 211.

<sup>6</sup> Schott, *op. cit.* 212 ff. See also Helck, *op. cit.* 359, n. 1; Hayes, *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 15, 78 ff.

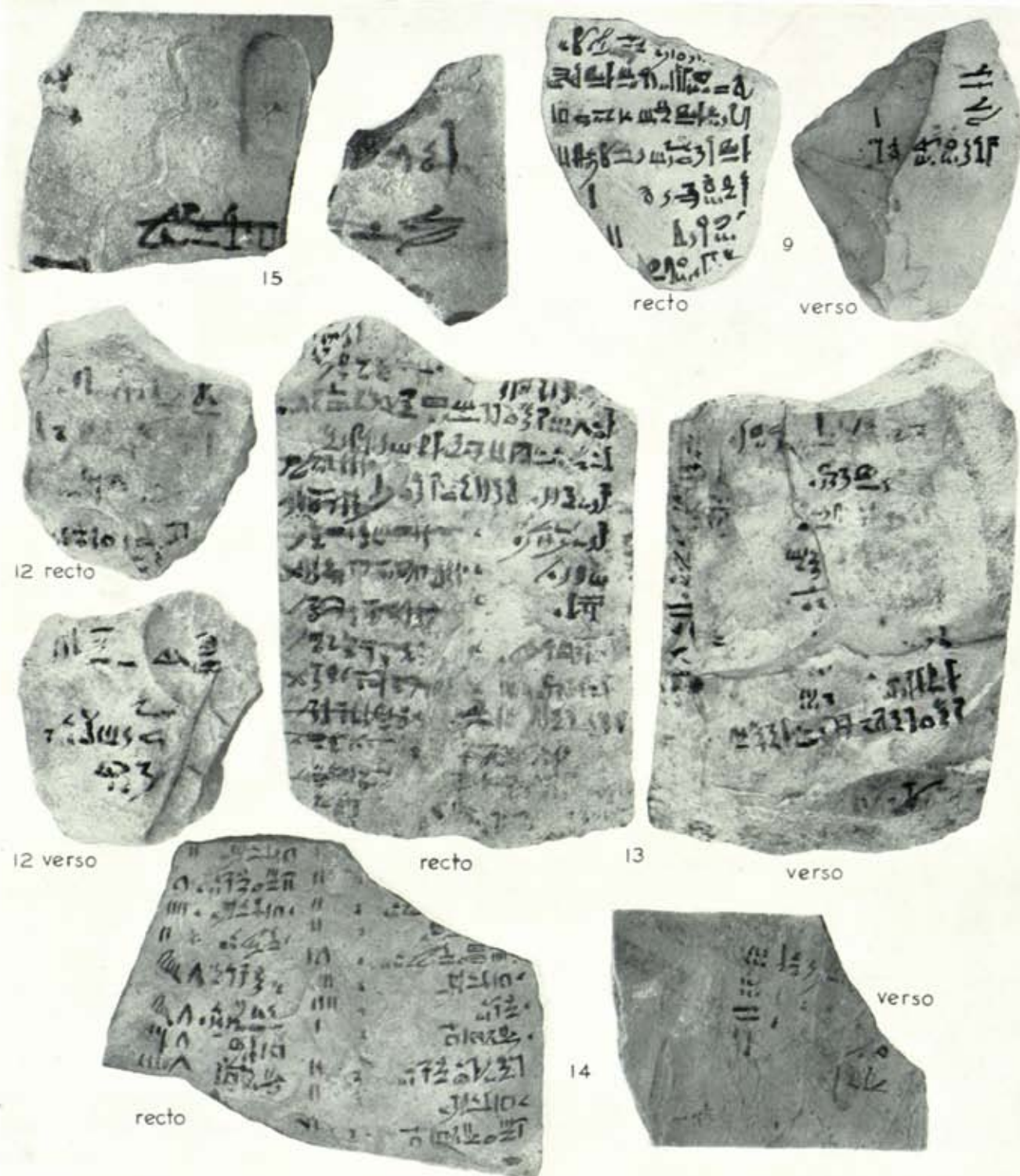
<sup>7</sup> Schott, *op. cit.* 215; Habachi, *JNES* 16, 92-96.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Helck, *op. cit.* 347. 363-5.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* 216, n. 68.







TUTHMOSIDE OSTRACA FROM DĒR EL-BAHRI





15

1 二二三[?] 2 90A 3 1 4 11 5 11 6 7

9 recto

1 2 3

9 verso

22 12

12 22

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

12 recto

1 2 3

12 verso

10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

13 verso

13

12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

14 recto

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

1 2 3 4

14 verso

TUTHMOSIDE OSTRACA FROM DĒR EL-BAHRI





to be the man who more than sixty years later held the office of Chief Steward under Tuthmosis IV. The First Prophet of Amūn, Ḥapusonbe, is referred to once by his title and name (9 ro., 2-3) and twice by his title alone (6 ro., 7; 7, 1), and the High Treasurer, or Chancellor, Neḥesy (?), by his title only (6 ro., 2; 8, 3). Minmose of 2, 2 we may identify as the Overseer of the Granary of that name and Paḥikmen of 6 vo., 1, as the Overseer of Works, called Benya, the owner of Theban tomb 343. Less readily identifiable are the foreman Nakhte (4 ro., 3), the Scribe Amenḥotpe (6 ro., 4), the Overseer of Cattle, Nebwꜥw (6 ro., 9), and the Skipper of Amūn, Amenemḥet (8, 5), though the names and titles of the first two, as we have seen, occur on other ostraca from the Dēr el-Baḥri area. Conversely we miss the name and title of the Treasury Overseer Thūty, who, we know from other sources, was active as an architect at Dēr el-Baḥri.<sup>1</sup> The names and titles of another group of Ḥatshepsut's officials, including Puyemrē, Dowaaerenḥeḥ, Penyaty, and Tetyemrē, occur on inscriptions from the queen's Valley Temple at the foot of her temple avenue,<sup>2</sup> and it is probable that their building activities in western Thebes were concentrated in this area rather than at Dēr el-Baḥri itself.

## II. Ostraca Associated with the Preparation of Sennemūt's Second Tomb (no. 353) (pl. XI)

12. MMA Field no. 27057.3. Limestone flake,  $10 \times 8.5 \times ?$  cm., found during the winter of 1926-7 near the entrance of the tomb of Sennemūt in the great shale quarry or borrow pit, east of Ḥatshepsut's temple at Dēr el-Baḥri. Inscribed on each side with a brief and apparently nearly complete hieratic text written in black ink. Pl. XI.

### *Translation, recto:*

1. Report of the 10 outline
2. draughtsmen (and) of the scr[ibe] (?):
3. pigment, 15 cakes, for ...
4. by day and ni[ght]
5. ... together with (?) ...

### *Verso:*

1. Further,<sup>3</sup> do to the gang(s)
2. [of] Djaseru the like
3. in the City.

This rather obscure little inscription, evidently written at a time when the decoration of Tomb 353 was being or was about to be laid out, is of interest chiefly for its reference to the work-gang(s) still employed on Ḥatshepsut's temple (Djaseru).

13. MMA Field no. 27057.2. Limestone flake,  $19 \times 12 \times 2$  cm. Provenance same as no. 12 (Winlock, *Bull. MMA* 23 (1928), February, pt. II, 30; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 363. 475). Inscribed on both sides with, all told, thirty-three lines of hieratic text written in black ink. It is evident from the continuity of the list that lines 9-22 of

<sup>1</sup> Helck, *op. cit.* 397-8; Hayes, *op. cit.* 89-90.

<sup>2</sup> Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, 46; Helck, *op. cit.* 362.

<sup>3</sup> On the non-enclitic particle *hr* see Gard., *Eg. Gramm.*, § 239.





gangs or shifts, was still taking place and new workers were still arriving from Hermopolis (recto, line 13) and other remote places. Neither the Foreman Ipuwēr nor his Asiatic (?) colleague of verso, line 1, is mentioned on the other surviving ostraca of the present series (nos. 27057.1, 3-9); but these lists, like the one before us, are crammed with African ('Nubian') and Asiatic names. Of the latter Albright has suggested<sup>1</sup> that here 'Yushay' of recto, line 20, 'might be the same as Hebrew Yišay, "Jesse" (spelled once with initial 'Aleph. Greek transcription: 'Ιεσσαι).' Because of his Egyptian name the 'Nubian' (*nḥsy*) of line 19 had to be labelled as such. It is probable that the male and female 'servants' of verso, 10, and recto, 21-22, were slaves, in the first instance from Sennemūt's personal estate.

14. MMA Field no. 27057.4. Potsherd, 16 × 11 × 1 cm. Provenance same as nos. 12 and 13 (Winlock, *Bull. MMA* 23 (1928), February, sect. II, 56-58, fig. 54; *Excavations at Deir el Baḥri*, 136. 150-2, pl. 61; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 360 n. 2, 474). Inscribed on both sides in black ink. Pl. XI.

*Translation, recto:*

1. ...	...	2
2. ...	"	2
3. [Senne]mūt	"	2
4. [the House of the Ki]ng's Wife	"	2
5. Month 4 of Shōmu. Sennemūt	"	11
6. the House of the King's Wife	"	3
7. the Overseer of Treasurers	"	4
8. the Pharaoh	"	1
9. the Five Epagomenal Days. The Overseer of Treasurers	"	2
10. the House of the King's Wife	"	2
11. Month 1 of Akhet. The Pharaoh	"	2
12. the House of the King's Wife	"	2
13. Month 2 of Akhet. The Overseer of Treasurers	"	10
14. the House of the King's Wife	"	4
15. Sennemūt	"	2
16. Total(s): the Overseers of Treasurers		19
Sennemūt		19
the House of the King's Wife		15
the Pharaoh		14 <sup>2</sup>

*Verso:*

1. ..., what he brought: blades, <sup>3</sup>	6
2. Minmose	" 6
3. Ra'mose	" 8
4. Pa'am	" 5

Associated as it is with the tomb of Sennemūt, the list of the recto of our ostrakon almost certainly recorded monthly contributions of workmen, materials, or supplies

<sup>1</sup> In a letter dated Aug. 11, 1958.

<sup>2</sup> The numeral carelessly omitted in the transcription.

<sup>3</sup> *Mtnw*, a word embodying the stem *tn*, *dn*, 'cut', probably to be equated with *mtnyt*, *mdn* (*Wb.* 11, 171 [6. 7], 182 [10]; Jéquier, *Rec. trav.* 39, 152; *Frises d'objets*, 210). See also *mtnw*, 'inscribe' (*Wb.* 11, 170-1; Blackman, *JEA* 13, 191-2).

made over a period of four months and five days to the preparation or upkeep of the tomb. The totals of lines 16–19 indicate that, in addition to an introductory heading, a number of entries at the beginning of the account are missing, including quite evidently the date, 'month 3 of Shomu'. The period covered, then, would have been the two months and five days at the end of one civil calendar year and the first two months of the succeeding civil year. The contributors, in the order of their munificence in connexion with this particular project, were the Treasurer (Neḥesy?),<sup>1</sup> Sennemūt himself, the estate of Queen Ḥatshepsut, and, in the last place, the latter's co-regent, Tuthmosis III, here referred to simply as 'the Great House' or Pharaoh. The probability that the list was drawn up by one of Sennemūt's own scribes and that the project involved was his own tomb would account for his being referred to in this august company by his name alone and would also help to explain the relatively unimportant role played by Tuthmosis III in this document.<sup>2</sup> The edged tools (*mtnw*) brought by the four worthies named on the verso were to be used, presumably, either in cutting the tomb or in carving the sculptured decoration of its antechamber.

15. MMA Field no. 27057-8 and 9. Jar label. Two fragments (larger 14.5 × 10 × 1.2 cm.) of the shoulder of a large amphora (?) in hard coarse grey ware. Provenance same as nos. 12–14 (Winlock, *Bull. MMA* 23 (1928), February, sect. II, 30; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 363). On the exterior surface are parts of two lines of hieratic text written in black ink. The larger fragment is stamped, above the inscription, with a cartouche containing the praenomen of Tuthmosis III, 'Menkheperre'. Pl. XI.

*Translation:*

1. Regnal year 10,<sup>3</sup> ...

2. butchered waterfowl,<sup>4</sup> 40, of the ... [of the Ste]ward Sennemūt

The fact that the label, including the date, has been deliberately crossed out suggests that the inscription belonged to an earlier use of the jar than that to which the latter was put in connexion with Sennemūt's second tomb. Indeed, the bringing of delicacies, such as forty dressed ducklings, to this tomb as early as year 10 is altogether unlikely if not actually impossible.<sup>5</sup> Probably the jar at the time it was broken (?) and discarded in Sennemūt's shale quarry was being used as a container for water, plaster, mortar, or the like.

The first three inscriptions of this series are part of a compact group of eight ostraca written and discarded during the preparation of Sennemūt's unfinished tomb at Dēr el-Baḥri and found in close proximity to one another at the western end of the so-called 'Sennemūt Quarry'. The *terminus a quo* for the group is provided by no. 13, which is dated to the fifth month of Tuthmosis III's sixteenth regnal year and which was certainly one of the first—if not the first—of the series to have been written. Since Senne-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 35, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, ostrakon no. 6 recto, line 5.

<sup>3</sup> A higher date (up to year 19) is possible, but not probable, as there is a good 8 mm. of blank space to the left of the *n* sign.

<sup>4</sup> See Hayes, *JNES* 10, 92–93; and, on the original meaning of *ḥpd*, Faulkner, *JEA* 38, 128.

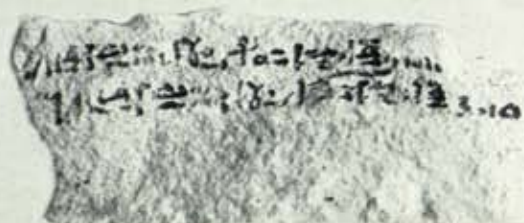
<sup>5</sup> Work was still in progress on Sennemūt's first tomb (no. 71) in regnal year 11 (Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, no. 80 [p. 23]; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 363).





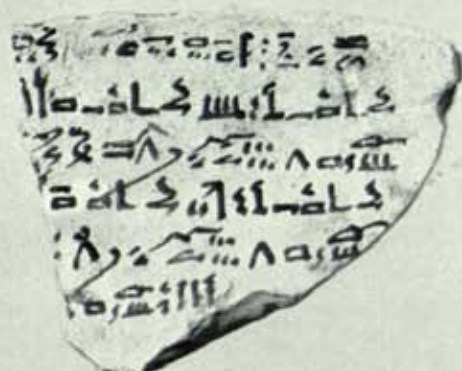


recto

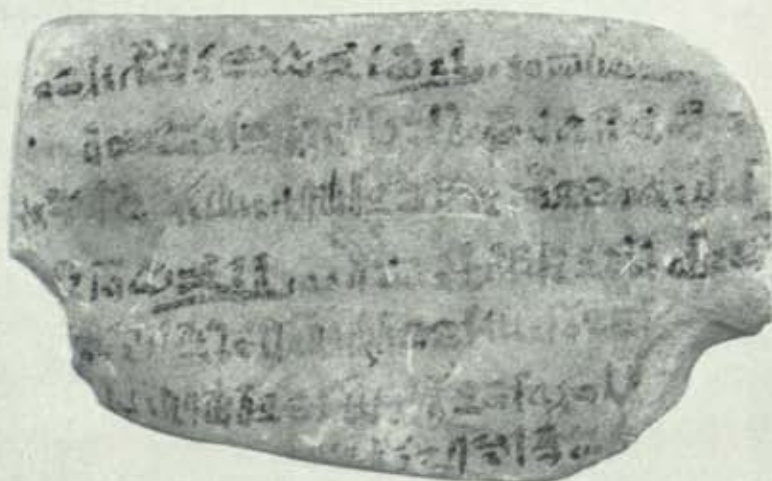


16

verso



19 recto



17 recto



19 verso



17 verso









mūt's fall from grace and the cessation of work on his tomb seem to have preceded by a year or two Ḥatshepsut's disappearance in regnal year 21 or 22, a *terminus ad quem* for the group in year 18 or 19 would seem to be about right.<sup>1</sup> The jar label, no. 15, is dated to regnal year 10, but this, as already remarked, almost certainly represents a previous use of the jar unconnected with Tomb 353.

The dating of the group is significant from several points of view. Not the least of these is the fact that the wording of the verso of no. 12 suggests pretty clearly that work was still in progress on Ḥatshepsut's temple at the time the decoration of Sennemūt's tomb was being laid out by his 'outline draughtsmen', probably in year 17 or 18 of Tuthmosis III.<sup>2</sup> Apropos of this, it may be pointed out that portions of the Dēr el-Baĥri temple appear to have remained unfinished until the very end of Ḥatshepsut's reign.<sup>3</sup>

Though ostrakon 14, for the reasons already given, cannot be accepted as conclusive evidence that Sennemūt was one of 'the four great powers of the land',<sup>4</sup> there can be no doubt that he was never more powerful than at this period when his magnificent new tomb, strikingly like Ḥatshepsut's own (no. 20) in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, was being excavated under the forecourt of the queen's mortuary temple. If, as Helck<sup>5</sup> would have it, he had long since relinquished the important office of King's Chief Steward, a title which he still uses frequently in the inscriptions of the tomb, it must have been for reasons other than loss of favour with his royal mistress.

### III. Ostraca dealing with the Building Operations of Tuthmosis III in (Amūn-)Djeser-akhet and an Associated Structure (pls. XII, XIII)

16. MMA Field no. 23001.66. Limestone flake, 13.2 × 10.5 × 3.2 cm., found at Dēr el-Baĥri in the same temple dump as nos. 4-6, 8, 10, and 11, above (Winlock, *Bull. MMA* 18 (1923), December, pt. II, 36). Inscribed on both sides in black ink, the handwriting of the verso being smaller and more 'businesslike' than that of the recto. Pl. XII.

#### *Translation, recto:*

1. Regnal year 44, month 3 of Prōyet, day 21.
2. Establishing the labour for
3. the daily stonework in order to
4. compile a record of<sup>6</sup> it every 10 days<sup>7</sup>

#### *Verso:*

1. [Month 3?] of Prōyet, day 21. Completing white stone for the *mi*, 6 (blocks)—done by 1[5?] masons
2. Day 22. Completing white stone for the *mi*, 6 (blocks)—done by 15 masons

<sup>1</sup> See Winlock, *Excavations*, 141. 152; Helck, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Habachi, *JNES* 16, 95.

<sup>3</sup> 'Senmut' (says Winlock in a MMA Egyptian Expedition notebook) 'does not appear behind the doors of the 4 little chambers opening off the north porch of the middle court. This part of the temple was still under construction at the end of the building period and was obviously unfinished at the time that his portraits were being put behind the doors in the rest of the temple. If these chambers had been as far advanced as they are now, he could easily have put his portraits in them. It looks as though he were dead at the time this portico was brought to its present state.'

<sup>4</sup> Winlock, *Excavations*, 151.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit. 360.

<sup>6</sup> *Wb.* IV, 212 (1).

<sup>7</sup> *Wb.* V, 276 (2). On the 'decade', or 10-day period, see Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, Excursus C, p. 206.



The date and content of this ostrakon leaves little room for doubt that it belongs with Berlin P.10615<sup>1</sup> (dated to regnal year 43), Berlin P.10621,<sup>1</sup> O. Gardiner 51<sup>2</sup> (of year 43), and nos. 17–21 of the present series of reports and memoranda recording Tuthmosis III's building activities at Dēr el-Baḥri. It would appear, moreover, to be one of the earliest of this series of documents which has come down to us. The text of the recto, though somewhat obscurely worded, evidently records the initial organization of a group of artisans assembled for dressing stone at the building site itself and provides for a report to be made on the results of their labours at intervals of ten days, that is, three times a month. The verso carries tallies for the first two days of the first 'week' of work.

That *inr hq n mi* designates, not a type of limestone, but blocks destined for a particular part of the building is indicated by the parallelism of *inr n mi* and *inr n tms* in ostrakon 17 and by the use in ostrakon 19 of the expressions *n snt* ('for the podium') and [*n*] *kpw* ('for the roof') to classify the blocks of stone listed. Though I cannot identify the part of the building referred to, the blocks for it were evidently big ones, the dressing of six *mi*-blocks constituting a day's work for fifteen stonemasons.<sup>3</sup>

17. MMA Field no. 23001.51. Limestone flake, 10.7 × 6.6 × 1.5 cm. Provenance same as no. 16. See Winlock, *Bull. MMA* 18 (1923), December, pt. II, 36–38; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 295, 437. Inscribed on both sides with, altogether, fifteen long lines of hieratic text, written in a small, neat hand, but faded and rubbed away in places, especially on the verso. Pl. XII.

*Translation, recto:*

1. Regnal year 45, month 4 of Prōyet, day 15. Amount of the labour carried out on<sup>4</sup> the stone-work
2. which is under the direction of the Overseer of the City, the Vizier Rekhmirē in the temple of Amūn in Djeser-akhet:
3. hauling stone for (the) *mi*, 5; stone for (the) *tms*, 4; total, 9. Finished
4. on the south wall of the southern chamber. Month 4 of Prōyet, day 16. Work of [this day]:
5. [hauling] stone for (the) *mi*, 3; stone for (the) *tms*, 2; total, 5. Finishing that which is
6. [on] the outside: stone for (the) *mi*, 3; stone for (the) *tms*, 3;
7. total, 6. They will finish tomorrow.

*Verso:*

1. Muster of this day: masons who remain, 11; those who are absent,
2. 3; those who are in the southern division, [10; those who are] . . . , 1; those who are in the workshop, 5; total, 30;
3. remainder, 10. List of [the gang (?)] : Khorians, 60, [in]
4. addition to the foremen [of the gang], . . . , (and) the men of the gang, 20;
5. . . *ht* (?) *r* . . . the stonecutters of the Vizier,
6. . . ; the stonecutters in (?) the river-bank . . .
7. . . Pay . . .
8. the mason Iykher(i)<sup>5</sup> . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Hierat. Pap. Berlin*, III, pl. 30; *Urk.* IV, 1174–5 (= P. 10621) and 1374 (= 10615).

<sup>2</sup> Černý-Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. 56, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly small daily quotas of *mi*-blocks are recorded in ostrakon 17 (recto, lines 3, 5, 6).

<sup>4</sup> *ir n*, literally, 'done for . . . '.

<sup>5</sup> *Iy-hr(-i)*, 'Iy-is-with-me'. Cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 7 (18 ff.).



The close similarity in content and arrangement between this ostrakon and Berlin P. 10621<sup>1</sup> shows clearly that the two reports dealt with the same construction project and were drawn up less than a year apart, possibly by a single scribe. Though less extensive in its scope than the text to which the Berlin fragment belonged, our ostrakon, by reason of its completeness, is certainly the key document of the whole Djoser-akhet series, preserving not only the name of the little shrine itself and the name of the great official entrusted with its renovation and enlargement, but also a complete date (15. viii) in the forty-fifth regnal year of Rekhmirē's royal master, Tuthmosis III.

The recto reports the transportation, either from a local Theban quarry or from a landing stage on the river bank,<sup>2</sup> of a few evidently large blocks of stone intended for two distinct portions or elements of the shrine: (a) the *mi*, known only from this group of inscriptions, and (b) the *tms* of *Wb.* v, 370 (8) (*Urk.* III, 68). Since in the Dream Stela (line 20) the *tms* of Tanutamūn's 'hall' at Napata is said to have been of ṛš-wood, Breasted in his *Ancient Records* (IV, § 929) has translated the word as 'panel'. It is not unlikely that in our texts *tms* refers to the interior and exterior surface blocks of 'the south wall of the southern chamber' (recto, line 4), destined to be carved with reliefs and inscriptions and, therefore, of sandstone of superior quality. 'The southern chamber'<sup>3</sup> of Djoser-akhet is readily identifiable in the plans of the building given by Naville<sup>4</sup> and Winlock.<sup>5</sup>

The 'muster' (*snhy*) of the verso corresponds to Berlin P. 10621, lines 4–13 (i.e. lines 4–6 of the recto and the whole of the verso), several of its entries being common to both ostraca. It lists and accounts for the whereabouts of both artisans (*hrtyw-ntr* and *i(w)kyw*) involved in the work and the unskilled labourers comprising the 'gang' (*ist*). It is interesting—though not surprising—to note that three quarters of the latter were Palestinians (*Hsrw*) and only one quarter Egyptians (*rmṯ*).

18. MMA Field no. 23001.132. Fragmentary limestone flake, 8.5 × 6.5 × 2.5 cm. Provenance same as no. 16 (Winlock, loc. cit.). Inscribed on one side with three lines of hieratic text written in black ink and comprising the beginning of a work report similar to nos. 16 and 17. Pl. XIII.

*Translation:*

1. [Regnal year 45 (?)], month 3 of Shōmu, day 13. Correct amount of the work
2. [which is under the direction of the Overseer of the City], the Vizier Rekhmirē in (?) the temple of Amūn
3. [in Djoser-akh]et: Hauling stone for the *wd[hyt?]*

The date (13. xi) of this never-completed report suggests that it was written two days after Berlin P. 10621 (dated 11. xi) and that both reports were drawn up early

<sup>1</sup> *Hierat. Pap. Berlin*, III, pl. 30 (= *Urk.* IV, 1174–5). Cf. Černý–Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. 22, 1 (O. Gardiner 7).

<sup>2</sup> Both limestone and sandstone were used in the construction of the little temple (Naville, *XIth Dyn. Temple*, I, 63–67; Winlock, *Excavations*, 74 ff., 79–80).

<sup>3</sup> *Idrt*, the word here translated 'chamber', occurs also in Berlin P. 10621 recto, line 6. It represents without much doubt a variant spelling (with prothetic *i*) of *ḏrwt* of P. Leiden 344 recto, 2, 11 (Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 28) and/or *ḏryt* of *Wb.* v, 600.

<sup>4</sup> *XIth Dyn. Temple*, I, pl. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Bull. MMA* 27 (1932), Mar., sect. II, fig. 24; *Excavations*, end papers.



in Tuthmosis III's forty-fifth regnal year (began 4. ix), less than four months after our no. 16 (21. vii of year 44) and more than nine months before our no. 17 (15. viii of year 45)—which, then, should be made to follow them in the chronological sequence.

In line 3 the word *wḏ[hyt]* ('fill' ?? Cf. *wḏh*, *wḏh*, 'pour', *Wb.* 1, 393. 410) is restored from the recto of the immediately following ostrakon (no. 19), lines 2, 4, and 6.

19. MMA Field no. 23001.50. Fragmentary limestone flake, dimensions unrecorded. Provenance same as no. 16 (Winlock, loc. cit.). Inscribed on both sides in black ink. Pl. XII.

*Translation, recto:*

1. Amount of the stone which is (under) the supervision of the Overseer of the City, [the Vizier Rekhmirē: ...
2. blocks for the podium, 80; blocks of stone (for the) *wḏh[yt]*,<sup>1</sup> 32; blocks for]
3. the roof, 16; total, 128. Benymer[ūt] ...
4. blocks for the podium, 52; blocks of stone (for the) *wḏ[hyt]*, 64; blocks for]
5. the roof, 16; total, 13[6] ... [*wḏ*]
6. -*hyt* (and) the roof, 10 [+ ?] ...

*Verso:*

1. Blocks for the podium, 23.
2. Total (of) the stone: 263.

From the parts of the building mentioned (*snt*, 'podium', 'platform', *wḏhyt*, 'fill [?]', *kꜣpw*, 'roof') it is difficult to determine whether this undated report refers to Djoser-akhet itself or to a raised kiosk for the barque of Amūn which stood before it in the line of approach from the east<sup>2</sup> and which may have been named Djoser-menu (see Berlin P. 10615 and below, p. 50).

In spite of the immediate juxtaposition in recto, line 6, of the words [*wḏ*]*hyt* and *kꜣpw* it is clear from the totals of lines 3 and 5 that we are dealing here with not two but three classes of blocks, the second of which is *ḏbt n inr wḏhyt*, the third, [*ḏbt n*] *kꜣpw*.

The *Bnr-mr[wt]* of recto, line 3, we can identify without much hesitation as the Overseer of the Treasury and Overseer of All Works of the king, Benymerūt, who served under Tuthmosis III and was active in the latter's forty-fifth regnal year (*Urk.* IV, 1372 f.). Besides the monuments listed by Helck in *Zur Verwaltung des mittleren und neuen Reichs* (401. 509) Benymerūt was the co-owner (with his mother, Ikhem) of a handsome double *shawabty*-figure, now in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>3</sup> In our ostrakon inscription he appears as Rekhmirē's assistant director or co-director of Tuthmosis III's building activities at Dēr el-Baḥri.

20. MMA Field no. 23001.176. Limestone flake, 11 × 9.5 × 4 cm. Provenance same as no. 16. Inscribed on one side only in black ink. Pl. XIII.

*Translation:*

1. List of the masons
2. who are working this day<sup>4</sup> under the direction of [the Overseer of the City],

<sup>1</sup> *ḏbt n inr wḏh[yt]*. For the writing of *inr*, 'stone', with the □-sign alone see Černý-Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. 22, 1a (cf. 1 recto, 4. 5; verso, 4. 6).

<sup>2</sup> Naville, op. cit. I, 19, pl. 6 (5); Winlock, *Bull. MMA* 27 (1932), Mar., sect. II, 31, fig. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Accession no. 44.4.73. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, II, 130, fig. 68. <sup>4</sup> Literally, 'on the work of this day'.







18



20



recto

21



verso



1  
2  
3

18

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7

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14  
15  
20

21 recto

1  
2  
3  
4  
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6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13

21 verso

TUTHMOSIDE OSTRACA FROM DËR EL-BAHRI





3. the Vizier Rekhmirē: the masons
4. Minḥotpe
5. May
6. Itirese
7. Khaṣ
8. Nefermenu

The brevity of this list of stonemasons suggests that it belongs to either the initial or the terminal phase of one of the small building projects instituted by Tuthmosis III at Dēr el-Baḥrī under the general (and nominal?) supervision of the Vizier Rekhmirē. Though undated, it can be assigned with some confidence to the last decade and a half of the reign. It is perhaps worth noting that the names Minḥotpe and Nefermenu appear as those of the makers (?) and contributors of five of the carved 'name-stones' from Ḥatshepsut's Valley Temple.<sup>1</sup>

21. MMA Field no. 23001.108. Limestone flake, 12 × 8.5 × 1.7 cm. Provenance same as no. 16. Inscribed on both sides with, all told, thirty-three lines of hieratic text written in black ink. Pl. XIII.

*Translation, recto:*

1. Regnal year 49, month 1 of Prōyet, day 23. Assigning work to
2. the masons when laying the passageway . . . :
3. those who are on the 2 northern columns:
4. Kh(?)erusen, Waḥ; those who are on the pavement in this place:
5. Tjener, Maṣ,
6. Germenu, Penamūn;
7. those who are outside on the column(s?): Khaṣemḥawef,
8. Khonsubeh, Yuemḥesef,
9. Maḥu,
10. Mani, Amenemmenuef;
11. those who are on the roof, on the outside:
12. Pentety,
13. Amenerḥētef,
14. Amenheru,
15. . . .-efmenuef;
16. those who are in Henket-ankh:
17. Sen,
18. Neby,
19. Mersuamūn;
20. total: 1[9] men.

*Verso:*

1. Month 1 of Prōyet, day 26.
2. Ruy; 6. Remainder:
3. including (?) Kenamūn—he is not in his domain;
4. including (?) Ipeny: 7;
5. not including (?) Khoru—he is not in the shipment from his district;
6. not including (?) Iyty;

<sup>1</sup> Metropolitan Museum, accession nos. 32.2.7, 14, 17, 264, 270. See Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, 45-46.

7. not including (?) Penwa'bet—he is not at his station: 6;
8. not including (?) Penmeneher;
9. ... Penhutenen;
10. ... Dudu;
11. ... Peshed—he is not in the workshop<sup>1</sup> ...;
12. not including (?) Khonsu, 5 times (?)—he repeatedly ...
13. Amen[em]hēt: 6. Total: 28 [men?].

Written less than five years before the death of Tuthmosis III, this ostrakon would seem to refer to the masons employed on either Djeser-akhet or the kiosk before it. The remains of the two buildings<sup>2</sup> show that neither was ever completely finished and that each possessed the elements listed in lines 2–11 of the recto of our text: a central aisle or passageway (*tš šmt*, line 2), columns and/or rectangular piers (*wḥṣ*, lines 3, 7), a floor or pavement (*sst*, line 4), and a roof (*kšpw*, line 11).

From line 16 we learn that stonemasons were also still at work at this time in *Hnkt-ṛnh*, Tuthmosis III's mortuary temple, on the edge of the cultivated land a kilometer to the south-east of Dēr el-Baḥri.<sup>3</sup>

The list on the verso, drawn up three days after that on the recto, is something of a puzzle. It seems to be a sort of running balance sheet of attendance, with the names of the absentee workmen preceded by the sign  $\sim$  and their absences sometimes explained by entries starting with the words *nn sw m* . . ., 'he is not in . . .'. The grand total of line 13 ('28 [men?']') may represent a carry-over of the total of the recto ('1[9] men') with nine 'non-absentees', derived in some manner from the entries of the verso, added to it.

The personal names will all be found in Ranke's *Personennamen* with the exception of the three of lines 7–9 of the verso. Of these *Pš-n-wḥbt* ('He-of-the-workshop'?) is made up of familiar elements, as is also, in part, *Pš-n-ḥw-tnn* of line 9;<sup>4</sup> but *Pš-n-mnhṛ* of line 8 seems to embody a foreign word or proper name characteristically reproduced in Egyptian by what is usually called 'group writing'<sup>5</sup> or, in Albright's view,<sup>6</sup> by a system of 'syllabic orthography'.

Apart from a walled avenue leading up from a hypothetical Valley Temple at the edge of the Nile flood plain,<sup>7</sup> Tuthmosis III's building activities at Dēr el-Baḥri, inaugurated late in his reign, appear to have been confined to two small structures, named respectively Amen-djeser-akhet ('Amūn-is-holy-(on-the-)horizon')<sup>8</sup> and Amen-djeser-menu ('Amūn-is-holy-of-monuments').<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gs-pr.* See Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 297, n. 1. 362. 495.

<sup>2</sup> As recorded by Naville (loc. cit.) and, more fully, in the notes, photographs, and drawings of the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Expedition.

<sup>3</sup> Otto, *Unters.* 16, 65; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* 11, 148; Ricke, *Das Totentempel Thutmoses' III.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, 1, 110 (1), 381 (13, 14). See also *ibid.* 11, 191–2.

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 60; Edgerton, *JAOs* 60, 486 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven, 1934); *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 2 (1957), 113–27.

<sup>7</sup> Winlock, *Excavations*, 201–3.

<sup>8</sup> Otto, *Unters.* 16, 14. 15. 53. 61.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 63, n. 5. *Hry-ḥr-Imn*, which occurs in the Ineny and Puyemrē lists, appears to have been a designation of Dēr el-Baḥri as a whole (*ibid.* 16, 62); while (*Imn*)-*ḥr-ṯht*, listed by Puyemrē and in Ḥatshepsut's



Djeser-akhet, as it is usually called, we can identify without hesitation as a chapel dedicated primarily to a local form of the goddess Ḥathōr and occupying a central position at the rear of the natural amphitheatre at Dēr el-Baĥri, midway between the temples of Ḥatshepsut and King Nebĥepetrē Mentuĥotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty. Such a chapel was probably in existence before the Middle Kingdom and was evidently much frequented by devout Thebans from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty onward.<sup>1</sup> During the reign of Ḥatshepsut, long before the ostraca of the present series were written, Sennemūt contributed to it a large kneeling statuette of himself, on the back pilaster of which mention is made of Onnophris and of Amūn (?), 'the Great [God], Lord of the Gods at Djeser-akhet'.<sup>2</sup> The absence of the name of the shrine from the lists of temples in the tombs of Ineny and Puyemrē and its presence in a similar list in the tomb of Rekhmirē<sup>3</sup> suggests, however, that Djeser-akhet was not played up as an important sanctuary until late in the reign of Tuthmosis III when Rekhmirē himself built the existing chapel—and then, perhaps, chiefly because it served to wrest from the long-dead Ḥatshepsut her architectural domination of the Dēr el-Baĥri area. The inscription on one of a pair of limestone door jambs donated by Tuthmosis III to the Chief Steward of Amūn, Ro-au, tells us that the gift of the jambs and of the tomb to which they belonged was made 'at the time of the founding of Djeser-akhet'.<sup>4</sup>

The chapel, built in a cutting in the cliffs off the north-west corner of the Mentuĥotpe temple platform, comprised, besides the famous speos for a statue of Ḥathōr's cow,<sup>5</sup> a small rectangular building containing a central passageway to the speos, flanked on the north by one and on the south by two little chambers. The floor of this building was partly cut and partly built up to a level of 110 cm. above the pavement of the Mentuĥotpe temple platform. Parts of square piers with relief figures of Amūn embracing Tuthmosis III and sixteen-sided columns bearing the latter's titulary, as well as inscribed architrave blocks and parts of a cavetto cornice, were found by the Metropolitan Museum's expedition in the chapel ruins and indicate clearly that it was once fronted by a double colonnade similar to those of Ḥatshepsut's temple.<sup>6</sup> Among the other elements found was part of the inner surface of an inscribed sandstone door jamb bearing the words '. . . (she) who is in (*hrt ib*) Djeser-akhet', referring presumably to the goddess Ḥathōr.

Karnak sanctuary (ibid. 14, 24[6]. 61), and a 'divine booth' named *ih-t-ntr* (ibid. 64) were evidently units of the queen's temple complex. One of the latter is perhaps to be identified with a peripteral chapel or way-station, for the barque of Amūn, found in 1931-2 by the Metropolitan Museum's expedition on the temple avenue 520 metres east of the front wall of the forecourt of the main building (Winlock, *Excavations*, 213, n. 17). This chapel, as yet unpublished, was preceded on the east and west by pairs of trees planted in square brick-lined pits and was adorned with Osiride figures of Ḥatshepsut. Numerous fragments of its piers, cavetto cornice, and painted reliefs were recovered. Some of the last-named preserve the names of Tuthmosis I, the names and figures of Ḥatshepsut and Amūn (erased in both cases), and the names of Tuthmosis III; but the only occurrence of the name of the building is an obviously incorrect Ramesside restoration ('Ma'karē-beloved-of-Amūn-in-Thebes') carved over an illegible erasure.

<sup>1</sup> Otto, *Unters.* 16, 61.

<sup>2</sup> Hayes, *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 15, 88-89, fig. 1 N.

<sup>3</sup> Otto, op. cit. 14.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 37 and footnote 3.


<sup>5</sup> Naville, op. cit. 1, 63-65, pls. 27-28.

<sup>6</sup> Neither Naville's plan nor Winlock's provides for this colonnade which, like the rest of the temple, must have been raised on a podium projecting forward over the top of Mentuĥotpe's enclosure wall and part of his temple platform, and in this respect too must have closely resembled the Ḥatshepsut temple porches.



As rebuilt by Tuthmosis III Djoser-akhnet was not merely a shrine of Ḥathōr, but was also the terminal point of Amūn's annual visit to Dēr el-Baḥri and was thus as much a sanctuary of the state-god himself as it was of his divine consort in western Thebes. To provide a thoroughfare for the portable barque of the god on its journey from Karnak the king constructed the third of the three walled avenues leading up to Dēr el-Baḥri from the edge of the cultivated land and to provide a resting-place for the barque upon its arrival at Dēr el-Baḥri he built, on the axis of this avenue and just a few yards to the east of the Mentuhotpe temple platform, the elevated pavilion or 'kiosk' to which we now turn our attention.

This structure is briefly described by Hall (in Naville, *XIth Dyn. Temple*, I, 19, pl. 6 (5); see also III, pl. 36), is referred by Winlock (in *Bull. MMA* 27 (1932), March, sect. II, 31, fig. 24), and is recorded in considerable detail in the unpublished notes, photographs, and drawings of the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Expedition. Though almost completely quarried away by ancient stone-thieves it is seen to have consisted of a massive masonry platform, approached from the east and west by sloping ramps, 8.6 metres wide and 16 metres in length, and surmounted by a peristyle of square sandstone piers topped by inscribed sandstone architraves and a painted cavetto-and-torus cornice. The core of the platform is of limestone, but all visible portions of the building were of sandstone, the blocks having the same generous dimensions as those used in Djoser-akhnet and bearing the same quarry or transport marks. On the piers Tuthmosis III was shown being embraced by Amūn and in the painted sandstone reliefs of the *cella* he appeared wearing the Red Crown and striking down his foreign enemies or, again, as a sphinx trampling upon a group of fallen Asiatics. An ostrakon found by Naville at Dēr el-Baḥri and now in the British Museum preserves the sketch plan of a peripteral building, 27 × 27 cubits (14 metres) square, which may well be the present chapel.<sup>1</sup> Like Djoser-akhnet, the building is referred to on one of its architrave blocks as a 'temple (*hwt-ntr*) of [millions of years]'; but its name is not preserved on the few inscribed elements which have been recovered from its ruins.

There is, however, reason to believe that this was the chapel called , known to us from Berlin P. 10615<sup>2</sup> and from the inscribed contents of one or more foundation deposits now in the Museum of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.<sup>3</sup> From the Berlin ostrakon we learn that Djoser-menu was 'on the west' (of Thebes) and that it was under construction in Tuthmosis III's forty-third year—not long before the ostraca of our present series show that work was in progress in Djoser-akhnet. The Berlin text records the formation of a corvée for the quarrying of stone ('consisting of the work in the mountain') under the supervision of the Granary Overseer Senthūty, one of Tuthmosis III's veteran officials.<sup>4</sup> The tools and plaques from the foundation deposit(s) are said by their former owner, a Cairo dealer in antiquities, to have been

<sup>1</sup> B.M. 41228. Glanville, *JEA* 16, 237-9 (the plan—evidently that of a peripteral chapel—would appear to be incorrectly interpreted by Glanville). See also Naville, *op. cit.* III, 30, pl. 33 (14).

<sup>2</sup> *Hierat. Pap. Berlin*, III, pl. 30; *Urk.* IV, 1374.

<sup>3</sup> Accession no. 3188. See Badawy, *Ann. Serv.* 47, 145-56; Iskander, *ibid.* 157. I am grateful to Professor Keith Seele for detailed information on these objects.

<sup>4</sup> Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 498.



found at Dēr el-Baĥri. The inscriptions on them vary slightly, but most of them read, 'the Good God, Menkheperre, beloved of Amūn in Djeser-menu'. Alexander Badawy in his article on these objects rightly points out that the Djeser-menu referred to on them cannot possibly have been the similarly named granite gateway of the upper court of the Ḥatshepsut temple.<sup>1</sup> Tuthmosis III may, however, have wanted to establish an association between the two Djeser-menus, for on the granite portal he has replaced Ḥatshepsut's name with his own. Winlock, apparently unaware of a building named Djeser-menu, assumed that Tuthmosis III's Ḥathōr shrine and the 'kiosk' less than sixty metres away were known collectively as Djeser-akhet.<sup>2</sup>

An analogy for two such contemporary and associated buildings exists in the slightly earlier chapel of Amen-Rē Kamūtef at Karnak and its adjoining *temple reposoir*.<sup>3</sup> At Dēr el-Baĥri the second building was necessitated by the fact that the Ḥathōr chapel was far too small and too much hemmed in by the colonnades of the Mentuḥotpe temple to receive the barque of Amūn.

From O. Gardiner 51,<sup>4</sup> the two ostraca in Berlin (P. 10615, 10621),<sup>5</sup> and nos. 16–21 of our present series, we can draw up a partial timetable of the construction of Tuthmosis III's two Dēr el-Baĥri chapels:

<i>Ostrakon</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Activity</i>
O. Gardiner 51	Year 43, 1. vi and 2. [vi]	Dressing (?) by a group of masons ( <i>ḥrtyw-ntr</i> ) of 80 units ( <i>dni</i> ) of stone or stone surface. <sup>6</sup>
Berlin P. 10615	Year 43, 2. vi	Organizing a <i>corvée</i> for quarrying local limestone for the core of (the platform of) Djeser-menu under the supervision of the Overseer of the Double Granary, Senthūty.
No. 16, above	Year 44, 21. vii	Organizing a gang of fifteen masons for dressing blocks of limestone for the cores of the walls or platform of either Djeser-menu or Djeser-akhet (or both).
Berlin P. 10621	[Year 45?], 11. xi	Hauling and dressing stone for the platform, colonnade, and chamber walls [of Djeser-akhet] under the general direction of the vizier Rekhmirē.
No. 18, above	[Year 45?], 13. xi	Hauling stone for the <i>wḏhyt</i> of Djeser-akhet under the general direction of the vizier Rekhmirē.
No. 17, above	Year 45, 15. viii	Hauling and dressing (?) stone for the walls of Djeser-akhet under the general direction of the vizier Rekhmirē. Muster of the masons and list of the labourers employed on these tasks.
No. 19, above	Undated	Tally of blocks of stone for the podium, the <i>wḏhyt</i> , and the roof of either Djeser-akhet or Djeser-menu (or both), assembled under the general direction of the vizier

<sup>1</sup> Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, v, pls. 120–1; Schott, *Nach. Göttingen*, 1955, Nr. 6, 216.

<sup>2</sup> *Excavations*, 203.

<sup>3</sup> Ricke, *Das Kamutef-Heiligtum Hatschepsut's und Tuthmosis' III. in Karnak* (Cairo, 1954).

<sup>4</sup> Černý-Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. 56, 5, see p. 44 above.

<sup>5</sup> *Hierat. Pap. Berlin*, III, pl. 30. Both these ostraca were also acquired originally by Gardiner and presented by him to the Berlin Museum (Černý-Gardiner, op. cit., p. v).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, 40–41.



<i>Ostrakon</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Activity</i>
		[Rekhmirē] and the supervision of the Treasurer and Overseer of Works, Benymerūt.
No. 20, above	Undated	List of five masons working at Dēr el-Baḥri under the direction of the vizier Rekhmirē—presumably on either Djeser-akhet or Djeser-menu.
No. 21, above	Year 49, 23. v	Assigning sixteen masons to work on the passageway, columns, pavement, and roof of a building erected by Tuthmosis III at Dēr el-Baḥri, probably Djeser-akhet or Djeser-menu; and assigning three masons to work in Ḥenketankh (the king's mortuary temple). <i>Verso</i> : attendance record of workmen.

The uncertainty as to whether some of the foregoing work records refer to the Ḥathōr shrine, to its *temple reposoir*, or to both buildings, is attributable largely to the fact that the two chapels, though widely separated in type, comprised the same basic elements—a raised podium or platform, a paved floor, columns and/or piers, revetted walls, and a roof—and that, as has been noted, both limestone and sandstone were used in the construction of each, the former as a foundation and core material, the latter for all exposed portions of the structure. The problem actually is not a serious one, since there is every likelihood that the two small and practically adjoining buildings were under construction at the same time, with the same quarry and transport gangs supplying the blocks of stone and other materials for both. The whole project—evidently regarded as an important one—was, as we have seen, under the direction of the vizier Rekhmirē, aided by such experienced administrators and builders as the Granary Overseer, Senthūty, and the Treasury Overseer, Benymerūt.

Dēr el-Baḥri, understandably enough, appears to have been one of the last sites in Egypt on which Tuthmosis III launched a building programme of his own. There is no evidence for his independent activities there before the forty-third year—hence almost the last decade—of his reign; and it is a striking fact that, despite their modest size, neither Djeser-akhet nor the adjoining pavilion (Djeser-menu?) was finished when the king died in his fifty-fourth regnal year.<sup>1</sup> Though he was able to complete and decorate the vaulted sanctuary of the Ḥathōr shrine, the wonderful sandstone cult statue of Ḥathōr's cow found in it was carved or at least inscribed during the reign of his son, Amenophis II.<sup>2</sup> The last portion of the Djeser-akhet complex to be undertaken—perhaps by Amenophis II—was the long walled avenue of approach from the east, for it was under the foundations of the walls of this avenue, not far from its upper end, that all of the ostraca which we have been discussing in this section were found.

<sup>1</sup> This was clearly established during the Metropolitan Museum's excavation of the two buildings and is referred to repeatedly by Winlock in his notebooks.

<sup>2</sup> Naville, *XIth Dyn. Temple*, 1, 65-67, pls. 29-31.

ADDITIONAL NOTE: The freestanding kiosk at Dēr el-Baḥri is discussed by Borchardt in his *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang* (pp. 58-61, pl. 14), where it is mistakenly assigned to the reign of Tuthmosis I. See also Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, 2, pp. 796-7.







1. Male Harper in the Bezalel National Museum,  
Jerusalem. (Photo. Bernheim)



2. Girl Harper in the British Museum  
(By Courtesy of the Trustees)

STATUETTES OF HARPERS



## THE STATUETTE OF AN EGYPTIAN HARPER AND STRING-INSTRUMENTS IN EGYPTIAN STATUARY

By J. LEIBOVITCH

THE ancient Egyptians commemorated their musicians by making for them tiny little monuments, compared to which the statues of servants are large, sometimes even approaching natural size. Statues of harpers and lutanists are mute, they bear no inscriptions and as usual in Egyptian statuary, the name of the sculptor remains unknown. Originally statues of musicians were found in the serdab, which means that they were used as servant-statues and were intended to entertain the deceased in the underworld. They probably had to sing for them some congratulatory hymns or songs on the fate of human life.

The statuette I publish here is that of a harper made of blue glazed ware, and it is the property of the Bezalel National Museum, Jerusalem. It is thanks to the courtesy of Mr. Carl Katz, the director of that Museum, that I am able to publish it (pl. XIV, 1). Its provenance is unknown. Its dimensions are:

total height of the statuette,	5.1 cm.
height of the base,	0.45 cm.
height of the instrument,	3.85 cm.
height of the sound-box,	0.525 cm.
width of the harp at its largest point,	1.8 cm.

The instrument is provided with ten strings, the longest of which measures 31.25 mm. and the shortest 13 mm. The harper kneels with both knees on a rectangular base and his instrument rests on his knees while it also leans against his breast. The lower part of the tuning handle is held between his elbows, thus leaving his fingers free to pluck the strings. He plays with both hands. The direction of the harper is that of his instrument (to the right) but his head is turned, the face looking towards us. His eyes are wide open and there is no sign of blindness. He is bald, and his expression is rather sad as though singing one of those songs which were collected by Miriam Lichtheim.<sup>1</sup> The harp is not provided with the usual head or god of the harper<sup>2</sup> protruding from the tuning-rod, which has not even the pegs for retaining the strings. The nearest representation which could be compared with our harper is that in the tomb of Antefoker<sup>3</sup> where the musicians put one knee only on the floor, keeping the other raised. The next representations are to be found in the New Kingdom,<sup>4</sup> one in El-Amarna and the other in the tomb of Pesiur. In almost all representations the musician looks in the same direction as his instrument. Only lute-players turn their faces sideways, and even backwards.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lichtheim, *The Songs of the Harpers*, in *JNES* 4, 178.

<sup>2</sup> Schott, *Der Gott des Harfenspiels*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, 1, 457.

<sup>3</sup> Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Id., *El Amarna*, 1, p. 31 and pl. 23; Fakhry, *Ann. Serv.* 43, p. 389 and pl. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik der Aegypter*, pls. 140 (Paris) and 143 (Berlin).



The theme of the harper in ancient Egyptian statuary has not been dealt with thoroughly, although representations have been studied many times since G. Wilkinson.<sup>1</sup> The harp is known in Egyptian under the name of *bnt* and we find this name as early as the Fifth Dynasty (on a relief in the Cairo Museum which belonged to Nenkheftikai, whose tomb is at Sakḫārah). On this fine painted relief we find the expressions: *hsl n bnt* 'singing to the harp', and: *skr bnt* 'plucking (the strings of) the harp' (fig. 1). There is also another word for harp-playing: *ḏḏt* which, from the Middle



FIG. 1. Musicians from tomb of Nenkheftikai.

Kingdom, is also a name for the harp. The *Wörterbuch* indicates that *bnt* 'ist das feinere Instrument'. The name of the harper would be *ḏḏrwy*.

To establish the date of our monument, it will be convenient first to review the statuettes already known. Here is a list of the stringed-instrument players:

- I. Statuette No. 10640 of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, coming from the serdab of Nikauinepu (Fifth Dynasty).<sup>2</sup> Length 10 cm., width 6.2 cm. According to W. S. Smith it is a male harper, while J. H. Breasted Jr. thinks it should be a female musician. It is made of limestone and is painted. The instrument has five strings and the handle is short, but the sound-box is not broad enough to be called 'shovel-shaped'.<sup>3</sup>
- II. Statuette No. 10641 of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, belonging to the serdab of Nikauinepu (Fifth Dynasty).<sup>4</sup> Length 9.6 cm., width 7.2 cm. It represents a dwarf

<sup>1</sup> Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 1 (1878), 462 ff.

<sup>2</sup> W. Stevenson Smith, *Egyptian Sculpture and Painting*, 2nd ed., p. 101 and pl. 27; J. H. Breasted Jr., *Egyptian Servant Statues*, p. 87 and pl. 80b; Vandier, *Statuaire égyptienne*, pl. 40 and pp. 96 f.

<sup>3</sup> Hickmann, *Ann. Serv.* 49, p. 432, figs. 6-9.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 101 and pl. 27; Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 87 and pl. 81b; Vandier, *op. cit.*, pl. 40 (8-9) and pp. 96 f.



harper seated fully on the floor, holding the instrument between his legs and leaning it against his left shoulder. It is made of limestone and is painted. The strings are oblique, and number three. The upper surface of the sound-box is slightly curved.

- III. Statuette No. 10642 of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, also belonging to the group found in the serdab of Nikauinepu (Fifth Dynasty).<sup>1</sup> Length 16.1 cm., width 11 cm. It represents a woman playing the harp. She wears a wig, is seated on her crossed knees tailor-wise, and the instrument leans against her left shoulder. She plucks the strings with both her hands. Her left foot protrudes at the side from under her right leg. The statuette is of painted limestone. The upper surface of the sound-box is slightly curved.
- IV. Statuette of a harper made of painted limestone belonging to tomb No. 132 (northern part of the cemetery of Shēkh Farag at Naga ed-Dēr).<sup>2</sup> The height of the statuette is 18 cm. In publishing it Reisner said that the harper is blind, probably before it had been properly cleaned. In fact the harper has his eyes wide open. His left knee is raised while he is sitting on his right knee, which is bent in. This time the tuning handle exceeds the harper in height by nearly one-third. The instrument is leaning against his left shoulder and the strings are vertical. He is playing with both hands. The sound-box is broader than the three preceding ones, and it has on the tuning-handle hooks or pegs to retain the strings, which number five. The skin of the harper is painted light yellow and therefore Professor Drioton thinks it might be a female player in spite of the coiffure. Men are generally painted red-brown. On the sound-box are painted two *udjat* eyes on each side of the strings. The strings themselves are painted.
- V. Small statuette once belonging to Martyn Kennard, made of sandstone,<sup>3</sup> 12 cm. high. According to the sale catalogue it represents 'a small figure of a woman seated on the ground and playing a large harp'. She is squatting with both knees raised. As to her instrument, the sound-box is in prolongation of the tuning-handle. The strings are nearly vertical.
- VI and VII. Two harp players belonging to the model of Karenen<sup>4</sup> found in his tomb at Sakḫārah by J. E. Quibell. Dr. Hickmann reproduces the side showing the female harper while the male player is shown in the original reproduction. Karenen is seated between them, while his wife sits a little farther in front of him. Farther on three songstresses are squatting and clapping their hands to beat the measure. Both musicians are squatting, and they are seated on their left knees while the right is raised. The instrument leans against their breast or left shoulder. The sound-box is broad and the handle short. This instrument could be called 'shovel-shaped' according to Dr. Hickmann's expression.<sup>5</sup> The strings are missing but from

<sup>1</sup> Smith, loc. cit.; Breasted, op. cit., p. 86 and pl. 81a; Vandier, loc. cit. (6-7).

<sup>2</sup> Reisner, *JEA* 6, p. 117 and pls. 14, 15; Vigneau and Drioton, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art (Musée du Caire)*, No. 75 (the larger statue).

<sup>3</sup> Reisner, *ibid.*, p. 118 (editor's note) and pl. 15, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Quibell, *Sakkara* (1906-7), pl. 16; Hickmann, *Music under the Pharaohs*, fig. on p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 54, n. 3 above.



the holes existing on the upper sound-board we may suppose that they originally existed. The pegs are still visible on the male harper's instrument. These models, which are in the Cairo Museum, are made of wood and painted and belong to the Middle Kingdom.

- VIII. Wood model found in the tomb of Meketre<sup>1</sup>, also belonging to the Middle Kingdom; the harper is in the cabin of a boat. It is in the Metropolitan Museum



FIG. 2. Cartoon of animal musicians.

of Art, New York. This time the harper is blind and is seated on his right knee having his left knee raised. The instrument is not leaning against his shoulder, it is standing by itself, being fastened by a special support. The pegs retaining the strings number seven and the holes in the sound-board suggest that the strings originally existed.

- IX. Statuette of a seated monkey playing the harp while having a young one behind her. Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown. It is in the Berlin Museum<sup>2</sup> and numbered 9573. Height 12 cm. J. H. Breasted Jr. suggests that it is 'a parody on other figures of musicians'. This reminds us of other parodies, one on a satirical papyrus now in Turin<sup>3</sup> (fig. 2) and another on the ostrakon Munich No. 1546.<sup>4</sup> In the former we see the donkey standing and playing the harp, which clearly dates from the New Kingdom. He is followed by the lion playing the lyre and the crocodile playing the lute (G. Wilkinson calls it a 'guitar' which is probably more correct, as the word 'lute' derives from the Arabic العود).<sup>5</sup> It is not quite clear whether it is a donkey playing the portable harp on the Munich ostrakon. Our monkey of the

<sup>1</sup> Winlock, *Models of Daily Life*, pl. 39 and p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 88 and pl. 83a; Schäfer and Andrae, *Propyläengeschichte*, 2nd ed., pp. 283, Nos. 3, 56, 598; Berlin, *Ausführliches Verzeichnis*, 1899, 203.

<sup>3</sup> Brunner-Traut, *ZAS* 80, p. 21. 19. 28; pl. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Id., *Die äg. Scherbenbilder*, No. 99 and pl. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Hickmann, *Bull. Soc. arch. copte*, 12, 75.



statuette is probably a female cynocephalus and the instrument is short, it reaches only to the animals' head.

- X. Statuette from El-'Amārna (No. 30/275)<sup>1</sup> representing a monkey standing and playing a harp similar to the instrument played by one of the three ladies in the tomb of Nakht.<sup>2</sup> There is a similar harp painted on the ostracon No. 2281 of Dēr el-Medīneh<sup>3</sup> but played by a seated monkey. The statuette is made of limestone and is about 11 cm. high while the harp is about 8 cm. high. In this instrument the sound-box and the tuning-handle together make one body and the strings are vertical. Pendlebury suggests it might be a caricature of the king at his devotions. The pegs retaining the strings (about 8) are enormous considering the size of the instrument. The harp of the tomb of Nakht has 14 pegs but 11 strings only; that of Dēr el-Medīneh has 5 strings and seems to have more pegs. Comparing the El-'Amārna statuette with that of the Berlin Museum (No. IX) we are inclined to assign the latter also to the same period of the Eighteenth Dynasty, considering its style and in general the spirit of the monument.
- XI. Statuette in the Berlin Museum No. 13244 of a naked woman in pottery of unknown provenance.<sup>4</sup> Breasted says in his description 'holding lyre against her left shoulder'. The height of the statuette is not indicated. From the reproduction by Breasted it is not quite clear whether it is a lyre or a lute; the two branches of the lyre are not quite visible.
- XII. Fragment of a statuette in the Cairo Museum<sup>5</sup> of which only the lower part remains. It shows a man squatting down and playing the harp as in our No. IV of the Middle Kingdom. As it is, it reaches the height of 11 cm. The type of instrument is that of the relief of Nenkhēftikai of the Old Kingdom which is also that of the harper of the cemetery of Shēkh Farag at Naga ed-Dēr.
- XIII. Statuette of a woman playing the harp<sup>6</sup> of white glazed ware, in the Cairo Museum, 10.5 cm. high. There are black spots on the white glaze and the woman sits on a cubical seat. She is playing a rectangular harp having six strings. It is the first time that this type of harp occurs. The corner of the instrument rests on her knees. The harp is briefly described by Professor Drioton and would be the first of its kind, or at least a kind of lyre imported into Egypt by the Semites during the Middle Kingdom such as can be seen at Beni Hasan,<sup>7</sup> where the lyre has six strings and is played by means of a plectrum. The lower part of the instrument which is the broadest, would be the sound-box.
- XIV. Statuette in white painted limestone in the Cairo Museum (CCG No. 490).<sup>8</sup> Its provenance is unknown and it represents a woman stepping forward with her

<sup>1</sup> Frankfort, Pendlebury, and Fairman, *City of Akhenaten*, II, pl. 31 and pp. 59, 99.

<sup>2</sup> Davies, *Tomb of Nakht*, frontispiece.

<sup>3</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie, *Ostraca figurés de Deir el-Medīneh*, 2, pp. 57 f., pl. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 88 and pl. 83b; Berlin, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> Vigneau and Drioton, *op. cit.*, No. 75 (the smaller statuette).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 76.

<sup>7</sup> Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 30.

<sup>8</sup> Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* (CCG), II, p. 67, pl. 82; Vigneau and Drioton, *op. cit.*, No. 76; Vandier, *op. cit.*, pl. 82 and p. 239.



left foot. She has the instrument leaning against her left breast. Borchardt describes it as follows: 'Das Instrument besteht aus einem Teller und einem annähernd senkrecht dagegen stehenden Stock.' It is provided with four strings. He dates it to the Middle Kingdom and this is quite justified by the type of the instrument.

- XV. Wooden painted statuette No. 48658 in the British Museum. It represents a woman playing on a trigon with six strings. The statuette is about  $23\frac{1}{2}$  cm. high.<sup>1</sup> This instrument is rarely reproduced in paintings or reliefs; it occurs once in the tomb of Pesiūr where the lower stick is bent backwards and ends in a duck's head.<sup>2</sup> We find among the objects of the Eighteenth–Nineteenth Dynasty which were discovered at Gurob,<sup>3</sup> a wooden figurine of a harper whom Flinders Petrie calls a 'Hittite harper'. Supposing that his instrument is a trigon, this would perhaps imply that it is of foreign origin, perhaps a Hittite import. It occurs once more in the Late Period (under a king or prince Tjanefer son of 'Onkh-Psamtek) on a fine relief<sup>4</sup> which came from Athribis and was once part of a lintel, now in the Alexandria Museum. There the old harper is seated on a stool playing on the trigon or triangular harp.

Hickmann describes<sup>5</sup> a similar instrument in his Catalogue General under the heading 'Harpes angulaires' and from his description we learn that the sound-box is vertical. The instrument may have more strings; this is perhaps due to a later development. From other pieces of triangular harps dealt with by Hickmann which were found at Saqqārah, it is to be concluded that this instrument is of the Nineteenth Dynasty which is also the date of the statuette in the British Museum.

- XVI. Statuette of a boy playing the lute made of painted limestone, in the Cairo Museum.<sup>6</sup> He faces the onlooker in the same direction as the instrument, his legs are crossed in the manner of an Egyptian scribe. He has pendent curls of hair, he wears ear-rings and is corpulent. The figurine, altogether 5.9 cm. in height, is dated to the New Kingdom. His instrument is pear-shaped and the tuning-handle is short.

- XVII. Statuette of Bes playing the lute, made of pottery and now in the Cairo Museum.<sup>7</sup> The god is standing with outspread legs. He is already well known as dancing with knives or playing the tambourine on one of the bedsteads of the tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu and on an arm-chair of Sitamūn.<sup>8</sup> He is very fat and holds his instrument like a guitar. The lower end of the statuette is broken off and the god's ears are perforated to receive ear-rings.

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., VIII, pl. 11, No. 8; British Museum, *Guide to the 4th, 5th, and 6th Eg. Rooms*, 213; Budge, *The Mummy*, pl. 13. I am indebted to Mr. I. E. S. Edwards for the photograph of the girl-harper on pl. XIV, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Hickmann, *CCG, Instruments de musique*, p. 156, pl. 96A.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, p. 41 and pl. 18, No. 38.

<sup>4</sup> Maspero, *Musée égyptien*, II, 2nd fasc., p. 84, pl. 40; Breccia, *Alex. ad Aegyptum*, p. 167, fig. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Hickmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 173 ff., pls. 105, 106, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Borchardt, *op. cit.*, III, p. 85 and pl. 143; Hickmann, *Ann. Serv.* 49, 443, fig. 18 and Cairo (CCG) No. 773.

<sup>7</sup> Hickmann, *ibid.*, p. 444, fig. 19, and Cairo 38733.

<sup>8</sup> Quibell, *Yuua and Thuiu*, Nos. 51110 (pl. 31, head-board of bed) and 51113 (pls. 41, 42 details of arms of chair).



- XVIII. Another red pottery statuette of a boy<sup>1</sup> playing the lute, which is pear-shaped. The statuette is in the Cairo Museum.
- XIX. Statuette of a lady playing on a pear-shaped lute<sup>2</sup> found at Mît Rahinah and now in the Cairo Museum.
- XX. Figurine of red pottery found by Flinders Petrie in the cemetery of Goshen (to the east of Zagazig in the eastern Delta, in the modern village of Saft el-Hennah). It represents the fine figure of a woman seated and playing a pear-shaped lute which Petrie calls 'a mandoline' while in the reproduction (on the plate) he calls her 'a citharist'.<sup>3</sup> The statuette is definitely foreign and Petrie justly describes it as evidence of Cypriote art. It is, at any rate, of Aegean style and he dates it to the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty.

Considering the posture of the knees and the shape of the instrument of our statuette of the harper, taken with the evidence of the above list, we can conclude that it belongs to the Eighteenth Dynasty.

<sup>1</sup> Hickmann, *ibid.*, p. 443; Edgar, *Terracottas* (CCG), No. 26762.







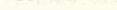

<sup>2</sup> Hickmann, *loc. cit.*; Cairo 32996.

<sup>3</sup> Hickmann, *ibid.*, p. 444; Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 38 and pl. 37B, Cairo, *Journ. d'entrée*, No. 38797, etc., to which I would add three statuettes found outside Egypt and quoted by Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 86, No. 3; Bossert, *Art of Ancient Crete*, Nos. 412, 413 on p. 243 and No. 421 on p. 245.

By HANS GOEDICKE

THE Berlin Dictionary (*Wb.* 1, 159, 8–10) gives for the word  $\overline{\text{mr}}$  'ein Titel. AR, MR. im Verkehr mit fremden Ländern: Dolmetscher; oft in den Titeln *mr* r, *hrp* r'. This meaning, 'interpreter, dragoman', was proposed by Gardiner<sup>1</sup> after a number of earlier, not very successful attempts by other scholars. In his study, he has demonstrated the connexion of the old word  $\overline{\text{mr}}$  with the Late-Egyptian  $\overline{\text{mr}}$  thus preparing the way for understanding. It was he also who proved in the course of his study that Spiegelberg's suggestion that *mr* corresponded to  $\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\iota\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\nu$  'to speak and act like a barbarian', 'to speak gibberish',<sup>2</sup> was valid for the other uses of this word. It is impossible to add anything to Gardiner's profound article, so that we can refer to his study for these conclusions.

The meaning at present generally accepted<sup>3</sup> for 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴 'interpreter' or 'dragoman' was also introduced by Gardiner in the above-mentioned article. On this point he writes:<sup>4</sup> 'It will be noted that I render the Old Kingdom word 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴 by "interpreter" or "dragoman", whereas the New Kingdom predicate 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴 is translated "foreigner". The reason is that the former is clearly a *title* while the latter equally clearly is not. It would be more literal to substitute "speaker of a foreign language" in each case, this being . . . the true etymological meaning.' This conclusion of Gardiner's seems to me rather strange and I wish to discuss the matter again as far as the Old Kingdom inscriptions are concerned.

Only one instance in the Old Kingdom is known to me where *r* is used by itself in a literary context and not as part of a compound title:<sup>5</sup>  [—]  ' (I) never caused the going of any *msrw* of any Egyptian (lit. man), any *r*, or any Nubian . . .'.<sup>6</sup> The  at the end of the passage is to be understood as determinative for the preceding words , , —, in accordance with the practice of abbreviation by avoiding the repetition of the same determinative known from other Old Kingdom inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> As  is thus determined by , it seems necessary to consider *r* as a word referring to a group or class of people. This makes it

<sup>1</sup> *PSBA* 37, 117-25.

<sup>2</sup> Spiegelberg, *Varia, Rec. trav.* 14, 41–42, where he emphasized the onomatopoetic character of the Egyptian word, which is similarly possessed by the Greek equivalent. The Old Kingdom term is here, as usual, transcribed *r*, but more correctly it is *rj*, cf. Goyon, *Nouvelles Inscriptions du Wadi Hammamat* 55 f., no. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 14; Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 19; Gardiner, *JEA* 43, 7; Faulkner, *JEA* 39, 34; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, 115.











<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, *PSBA* 37, 125.



<sup>3</sup> *Urk.* 1, 137, 4. Gardiner's rendering of the passage was based on the first edition of the text which was subsequently improved by Sethe in his second edition.








<sup>6</sup> For the significance of the passage cf. Clère, *Sur un cliché des biographies de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XI<sup>e</sup> dynastie*, *Festschrift Grapow*, 38 ff.


<sup>7</sup> For this practice see Gunn, *JEA* 19, 106.










improbable that  $\epsilon$  means 'interpreter'. Moreover, the mention of the  ( ) between  ( ) and    indicates that those people, called , occupied a position which set them in some relation both to the Egyptians and to the Nubians.

When we turn to the titles incorporating the word  we note the surprising fact that no instance is attested for the Old Kingdom where  occurs as a title by itself; we have, on the other hand, a considerable number of instances of officials with compound titles, like *hrp*  $\epsilon$  and, especially, *imy-r*  $\epsilon$ . If we accept that  $\epsilon$  means 'interpreter' it is strange that there should have been only higher ranks in an 'organization of interpreters', but no ordinary interpreter. It is further unlikely that there was at this time an organized institution of interpreters with different ranks.<sup>1</sup> In the New Kingdom, where Akkadian is used for diplomatic correspondence, no institution of this kind is found.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to these general objections a further argument against Gardiner's view is provided by a passage in the Dahshur decree<sup>3</sup> which in my opinion proves that *imy-r*  $\epsilon$  does not signify 'overseer of interpreters'. To translate        as '“friend”-overseer<sup>4</sup> of interpreters of *Md*, *Im*, *Ir*tt . . .' makes little sense. To make this passage understandable it should be translated '“friend”-overseer of the “foreigners” of *Md*, *Im*, *Ir*tt . . .'. This translation accepts Gardiner's suggestion that  $\epsilon$  is the 'speaker of a foreign language', namely, a  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\beta\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma$ , but I can see no reason to transform this 'speaker of a foreign language' into an 'interpreter'.<sup>5</sup>

Among titles incorporating  we find *hrp*  $\epsilon$ , *imy-r*  $\epsilon$  and, rarely, *shd*  $\epsilon$  and *imy-h*  $\epsilon$ .





The title  is attested, as far as I know, four times in the Old Kingdom: *K:hyf*,<sup>6</sup> *K:nfr*<sup>7</sup> (G. 2150), his son *K:iswd*,<sup>8</sup> (G. 5340), and *Iydf*,<sup>9</sup> who might also be in some way related to the family of *K:nfr*. The first lived probably at the end of the Fourth Dynasty, the others during the Fifth Dynasty; after this time the title does not occur. It is of interest that *K:nfr* and *Iydf* also bear the title  which is of a military character.<sup>10</sup> Other titles in the inscriptions of *K:nfr* and *Iydf*, such as   and   , show that these officials had connexions with regions outside the Nile valley, which had been to some extent under the control of the Egyptians for ages past.

While the title *hrp*  $\epsilon$  is rarely found, *imy-r*  $\epsilon$  is attested much more frequently. The

<sup>1</sup> The problem of foreign languages, particularly in relation to the South, was hardly of any great importance. Thus today at Aswan, the majority of the population is bilingual, speaking Arabic and Nubian.

<sup>2</sup> For the question of the use of a foreign language for diplomatic correspondence, cf. Czermak, *Akten in Keilschrift und das Auswärtige Amt des Pharao*, WZKM 51, 1-13.

<sup>3</sup> *Urk.* 1, 209, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Although the text clearly gives , it seems most likely that this is an error for  since   is the usual, well attested combination. Cf. Helck, op. cit. 115; *Urk.* 1, 102, 5; Weigall, *Documents of Lower Nubia*, pl. lviii.

<sup>5</sup> The element representing the title is *imy-r* while  $\epsilon$  is a designation of people.

<sup>6</sup> Bisson de la Roque, *Fouilles d'Abou-Roach* (1924) (FIFAO 2, 1), 58.

<sup>7</sup> Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, 1, 437 ff., figs. 258-64.

<sup>8</sup> Junker, *Giza*, VII, 161 = Lepsius, *Denkm.* II, 85a.

<sup>9</sup> Lepsius, *Denkm.* II, 101a.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Fischer, *JNES* 18, 267 ff.



oldest example known to me is in a graffito in the Wadi Maghara from the time of Djedkarê-Isesi<sup>1</sup> where, however, the name of the official is destroyed. All other occurrences of the title *imy-r*  $\epsilon$  belong to the Sixth Dynasty and later. The following are known to me:

Pepi I:		<i>Ggi</i>	Cairo 71/72; 1455
<i>Ty</i> . . .	<i>Urk. 1, 209, 2 = Weigall, Documents of Lower Nubia, pl. 30</i>	Pepi II and later: <i>Nykrnh</i>	
<i>Tdy</i>	<i>Urk. 1, 209, 4 = ibid., pls. 56; 58, 28</i>		<i>Urk. 1, 113, 10 = Gardiner-Peet-Černý, op. cit. pl. IX, 17</i>
<i>Hwms</i>	<i>Urk. 1, 208, 17 = ibid., pl. 29</i>	<i>Mryrcnh</i>	<i>Urk. 1, 113, 9 = ibid.</i>
<i>Nykrnh</i>	<i>Urk. 1, 92, 6 = Gardiner-Peet-Černý, Inscriptions of Sinai, pl. VIII, 16</i>	<i>Hkrib</i>	<i>Urk. 1, 131, 16-17</i>
	<i>Urk. 1, 92, 7 = ibid.</i>	<i>Sbni</i>	<i>Ann. Serv. 15, 4</i>
<i>Sndm</i>		<i>Hwi</i>	<i>ibid. 7</i>
<i>MnkmrnhMryr</i>	Goyon, <i>Nouvelles Inscriptions du Wadi Hammamat, p. 53, no. 19</i>	<i>Mhtw</i>	<i>ibid. 3</i>
	<i>ibid.</i>	<i>Wdrw</i>	de Morgan, <i>Fouilles à Dahchour, 15, fig. 34</i>
<i>Tw:rw</i>	<i>ibid. p. 55, no. 21</i>	<i>bbi</i>	Cairo 1406
<i>Nfrnpt</i>	<i>ibid.<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>Hwwi</i>	Brit. Mus. 199
<i>Ndmib</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	<i>Iny</i>	Brit. Mus. 1480
<i>Tw:rw</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	<i>nh(?)</i>	<i>Urk. 1, 134, 14</i>
<i>Thy</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	<i>nhfifl</i>	Vandier, <i>Mo'alla, 19</i>
<i>Hwnhr</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	<i>Sibi</i>	Weigall, <i>op. cit. pl. LVIII</i>
<i>Sndmib</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	<i>Tkib</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>ššfw</i>	<i>ibid. p. 60, no. 26</i>	<i>Ttrnh</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Hwwi</i>	<i>ibid. p. 61, no. 27</i>	<i>Tri</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Rdyn(i?)</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	<i>Hpi</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Tw:rw</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	<i>Sib . . .</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
Merenrê:		<i>rw</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Hrhwf</i>	<i>Urk. 1, 120, 14</i>	<i>Hn . . . nt</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
		<i>Trw</i>	P. Berlin 9010 ( <i>ZAS 61, 71</i> )
		<i>Wsr</i>	<i>ibid.</i>

Certain conclusions can be drawn from a study of these occurrences. The oldest example of the title *imy-r*  $\epsilon$  appears to date to the end of the Fifth Dynasty, while the title *hrp*  $\epsilon$  is known only from earlier times. This indicates either that *hrp*  $\epsilon$  was the old form which at the end of the Fifth Dynasty was changed to *imy-r*  $\epsilon$  or that the latter, a new creation, replaced the older *hrp*  $\epsilon$ . Among the examples listed above, we can distinguish three groups of different provenance:












(1) The individuals belonging to the largest group are mentioned in inscriptions found outside Egypt, in Sinai as well as in Lower Nubia all in graffiti reporting expeditions. These occurrences of the title in texts found in foreign territory form one of the main reasons for the assumption that the word  $\epsilon$  means 'dragoman' both by itself and


<sup>1</sup> Gardiner-Peet-Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 1, pl. vii, no. 13 = *Urk. 1, 56*.

<sup>2</sup> The only instance in the Old Kingdom with the full spelling  $\epsilon$   $\overline{\text{h}}$   $\overline{\text{r}}$   $\overline{\text{p}}$   $\overline{\text{h}}$ .










in the titles incorporating it. In such circumstances, however, the presence of an 'overseer of the dragomans or interpreters' involves great difficulties. The particular services rendered by an interpreter make it improbable that more than one would be appointed for an expedition; yet the mention of an 'overseer' presupposes a number of lesser officials under his charge.

To assume, on the other hand, that the *imy-r*  was the head of an administrative institution, such as a 'bureau for foreign languages', seems also highly unlikely. In the inscription of Tomâs no fewer than eight *imy-r*  are mentioned together, which demonstrates that this title cannot signify the leader of an administrative institution. If the latter were the case, then the successive listing of a number of contemporary title-holders would be unlikely. The *imy-r*  seems rather to have been a commander of a certain class of people, as is indicated by the title      'overseer of all -people of the Southern land'.<sup>1</sup> Gardiner conclusively pointed out that  is equivalent to Greek *βάρβαρος* 'foreigner'; the *imy-r* , therefore, is the 'overseer of foreigners'.

(2) In the second largest group *imy-r*  occurs as a title of the nobles of Elephantine. This place occupied a specific role in the Egyptian administration inasmuch as by its geographical position it was the outpost of Egypt towards the South; activity, both military and economic, against Nubia lay in the hands of officials residing there.<sup>2</sup>

(3) Three examples come from the Memphite region. One is from Saḫḫārah,<sup>3</sup> the other two from Dahshur, one being in the decree of Pepi I for the pyramids of Snofru.

To find an 'overseer of foreigners' near the residence of the Royal Court seems strange. However, in the Dahshur decree<sup>4</sup> the *imy-r*  is listed among the addressees concerned with the royal order. Later in the same document    'pacified Nubians' are mentioned<sup>5</sup> and it seems evident that they are to be connected with the official quoted in the address. This connexion is made even more obvious by the addition to the title *imy-r*  of the qualifying words *nyw Mdj Im Irṭt*. . . . These words specify him as 'overseer of the foreigners of *Mdj, Im, Irṭt* . . .'. The 'pacified Nubians' can be recognized in this royal document as some kind of military formation among others in charge of the collection of taxes.


The *Nḥsy ḥtp* have been recognized long since as mercenary troops, used to reinforce the Egyptian army.<sup>6</sup> The Dahshur decree makes it clear that the *imy-r*  was the leader of a military formation consisting of such people. It is not surprising therefore to find the *imy-r*  listed in Weni's account of the army he commanded.<sup>7</sup> For this reason also it becomes understandable that most of the occurrences of the title are found outside the Egyptian frontiers, in places where expeditions were made. Expeditions of either a military or a reconnaissance nature in search of important and precious goods required

<sup>1</sup> Weigall, op. cit. pl. lviii bottom, no. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, 200, assumes that 'die dort stationierten Karawanenführer die Macht im Gau erhalten und somit zu "Gaufürsten" werden'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fischer, *JAOs* 74, 29 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Urk.* 1, 209, 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Urk.* 1, 211, 3. 10. Borchardt (*ZÄS* 42, 7) had already expressed the opinion that the *Nḥsy ḥtp* are to be connected with the Nubian countries mentioned in the address. Cf. also the connexion between the *imy-r*  and the *Nḥsyw nyw ḥstot iptn* in Weni's account of the army, *Urk.* 1, 102, 5. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Komorzinski, *AAÄ* 1, 46.

<sup>7</sup> *Urk.* 1, 102, 5.



the presence of soldiers. The bearing of the title by the governors of Elephantine resulted from their general military commission to screen the southern frontier of Egypt against Nubia. By taking *imy-r*  $\epsilon$  as 'overseer of foreign (mercenary) troops' it becomes clear why we know the names only of 'overseers' of the  $\epsilon$ , but never of a simple  $\overline{\text{A}}$ .

To complete the evidence of titles incorporating  $\epsilon$ , we must note one instance of  $\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}$ <sup>1</sup> and two of  $\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}$ .<sup>2</sup>

A word has to be said here about the occurrence of  $\overline{\text{A}}$  in the funerary temple of Sahurê where it is found in the texts accompanying scenes representing foreign ships.<sup>3</sup> Sethe in his commentary<sup>4</sup> suggested the translation 'shipmate' (*Maat*) for which he offers no explanation. There can be no doubt that the word  $\epsilon$  here is identical with the one in the title *imy-r*  $\epsilon$  where it means—as is shown above—'foreigner'. A careful examination of the scenes shows the following results: The group  $\overline{\text{A}}$  is placed above persons who differ in their appearance from the rest of the crew which is clearly depicted as Asiatic. The persons labelled  $\overline{\text{A}}$  perform a particular kind of gesture different from that of the Asiatic people. They have one arm lifted up in adoration while the other is placed on the head of an Asiatic standing in front of them. The number of persons represented thus performing this particular kind of gesture exceeds many times the number of cases where  $\overline{\text{A}}$  is written. In one ship, for instance, there are no less than six persons of this kind; in others, less well preserved, even more. Their appearance in such great numbers makes it difficult to consider them as 'interpreters'. It seems to me more likely that  $\overline{\text{A}}$  was used here in an attempt to specify certain persons as 'foreigners' where it was not obvious from their appearance.

To sum up, we can begin by accepting the translation 'foreigner' for  $\overline{\text{A}}$ , deduced from  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\beta\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma$  by Gardiner. The word is known almost exclusively from compound titles, of which *hrp*  $\epsilon$  and *imy-r*  $\epsilon$  are the only really important ones; the older *hrp*  $\epsilon$  was replaced at the end of the Fifth Dynasty by *imy-r*  $\epsilon$ . The latter title occurs mainly in places outside the Egyptian borders in connexion with expeditions, or on the southern frontier where it is a regular dignity of the administrators of Elephantine.

There is no indication that this title means 'interpreter' or 'dragoman'. The officials who were called *imy-r*  $\epsilon$  were the commanders of mercenary troops whose existence in the Old Kingdom is well attested from other sources.

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner-Peet-Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, I, pl. x, no. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Nykrnh*, Gardiner-Peet-Černý, op. cit., pl. vii, no. 13 = *Urk.* I, 56 (time of Asosis); *Thwef*, Gardiner-Peet-Černý, op. cit., pl. ix, no. 17 = *Urk.* I, 113, 16 (time of Pepi II).

<sup>3</sup> Borchardt-Sethe, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahurê*, II, pl. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 87.



# PAPYRUS LYTHGOE: A FRAGMENT OF A LITERARY TEXT OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM FROM EL-LISHT

By W. K. SIMPSON

THE tattered fragment of papyrus which I have designated above as P. Lythgoe bears the Metropolitan Museum of Art accession number 09.180.535.<sup>1</sup> It was found by the Egyptian Expedition of the Museum in the cemetery south-west of the pyramid of Ammenemes I at el-Lisht between 1906 and 1909. Its finding place is described in the expedition records as 'in front of pit 526 and near pit 524', these numbers referring to the as yet unpublished plan of the site. I have not found any other record of the existence of the fragment, and I believe that it is made known in these pages for the first time. I am indebted to Mr. Ambrose Lansing of the Metropolitan Museum for permitting me to discuss the text and to his assistant and successor, Dr. William C. Hayes, for graciously renewing this privilege and for supplying the accompanying photographs, which are based on my relocation of a few fragments in their proper positions. The accession of the papyrus fragment is credited to the Rogers Fund of the Museum, through which the excavations of the season during which it was found were supported.


The fragment measures 11.7 cm. high by 19.6 cm. long. Parts of two pages are represented, the right section of the recto being gummed over the left section at the point now occupied by column 5. The side with the horizontal fibres uppermost has been designated as the recto, although it is not certain whether the two sides represent part of the same text. The colour of the fragment is a light brown which is slightly darker than that of the Hekanakhte papyri in the same museum. Several damaged signs in rt. 1 are rubricized, and spots of red ink between vs. 10 and 11 and vs. 11 and 12 indicate that part of the last column was similarly written in red. The continuity of the text between vs. 9 and 10 indicates that only a single group has been lost at the bottom of the best preserved columns. Allowing for this group and the customary margins at the top and bottom, the original height of the sheets can be estimated at approximately 16 cm., a measurement agreeing with that of several of the literary papyri of the same general date (P.Berlin 3022 of *Sinuhe*, P.Berlin 3024 of the *Lebensmüde*, and P.Berlin 3023 of *The Eloquent Peasant*). It is not impossible, of course, that the original height of the page was considerably greater, but it is assumed for our purposes, on what appear to be sufficient grounds, that this was not the case.

In view of the circumstance that the fragment provides a portion of a hitherto unknown literary text in a Middle Kingdom manuscript, it would seem to be of sufficient interest to warrant attention even in its present state. I cannot claim to have solved all the difficulties in the text or even to have satisfied myself that the remaining difficulties

<sup>1</sup> I have thought it appropriate to designate the papyrus thus in memory of the late Albert Morton Lythgoe (1868-1934), the first curator of the Department of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum (*JEA* 20, 107).



are beyond solution. In my behalf I can only plead that the publication of a document discovered fifty years ago should not be unduly delayed by these considerations and that the reader will now have an opportunity to improve upon my efforts.

The text on both recto and verso is clearly a narrative of some interest. It does not seem possible, however, to connect it with any of the well-known literary texts of the Middle Kingdom or even with the other narrative fragments such as the so-called *Story of Hay* from el-Lāhūn and the text of P. Butler 527 verso.<sup>1</sup> Since no attempt to fix the date of the literary papyri has been entirely successful,<sup>2</sup> it is enough for our purposes to note that P. Lythgoe is of approximately the same date, on palaeographic grounds, as the Ramesseum papyri and the Berlin papyri. It is reasonable to assume that the manuscript can be dated in the latter half of the Twelfth Dynasty or the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty, and an argument in favour of the earlier date is presented below. This date is in keeping with much of the material from the western cemetery at el-Lisht, which served as a necropolis for some time after the reigns of the builders of the two pyramids, Ammenemes I and Sesostri I. A fragment of an account papyrus from the debris on the east side of the pyramid of Ammenemes (Metropolitan Museum accession number 09.180.531) bears the year dates 44 and 45, which on the basis of the palaeography and the high regnal years can only be assigned to the reign of Ammenemes III. A fragment from the western cemetery with a list of names (Metropolitan Museum accession number 09.180.532) includes the personal name Kha'kūrā'sonbe, thus fixing its date as no earlier than the reign of Sesostri III. I hope to publish these fragments at a later date if circumstances so permit. On the basis of these texts there is no 'archaeological' argument for assigning P. Lythgoe to the reign of one of the builders of the pyramids adjoining its finding place, a conclusion which is supported by consideration of the palaeography. There are also several indications that the manuscript antedates the end of the Twelfth Dynasty or at least the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period. The hieratic form of the sign  lacks the lateral tick on its right, which is a characteristic of Möller's Second Intermediate group.<sup>3</sup> The slightly damaged *k/p* sign is similar to the form in the execration texts and *Sinuhe* B and evidently earlier than the form exhibited in *Sinuhe* R and P. Boulaq 18 (see the chart in Georges Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, p. 30, fig. 6). The scribe's addiction to an elegant form of the horned viper with recurved tail is perhaps more of a personal idiosyncrasy than a reliable indication of the date of the manuscript. From the standpoint of language, one might single out for comment the use of the definite article.

It is not without considerable hesitancy that the accompanying transcription and the

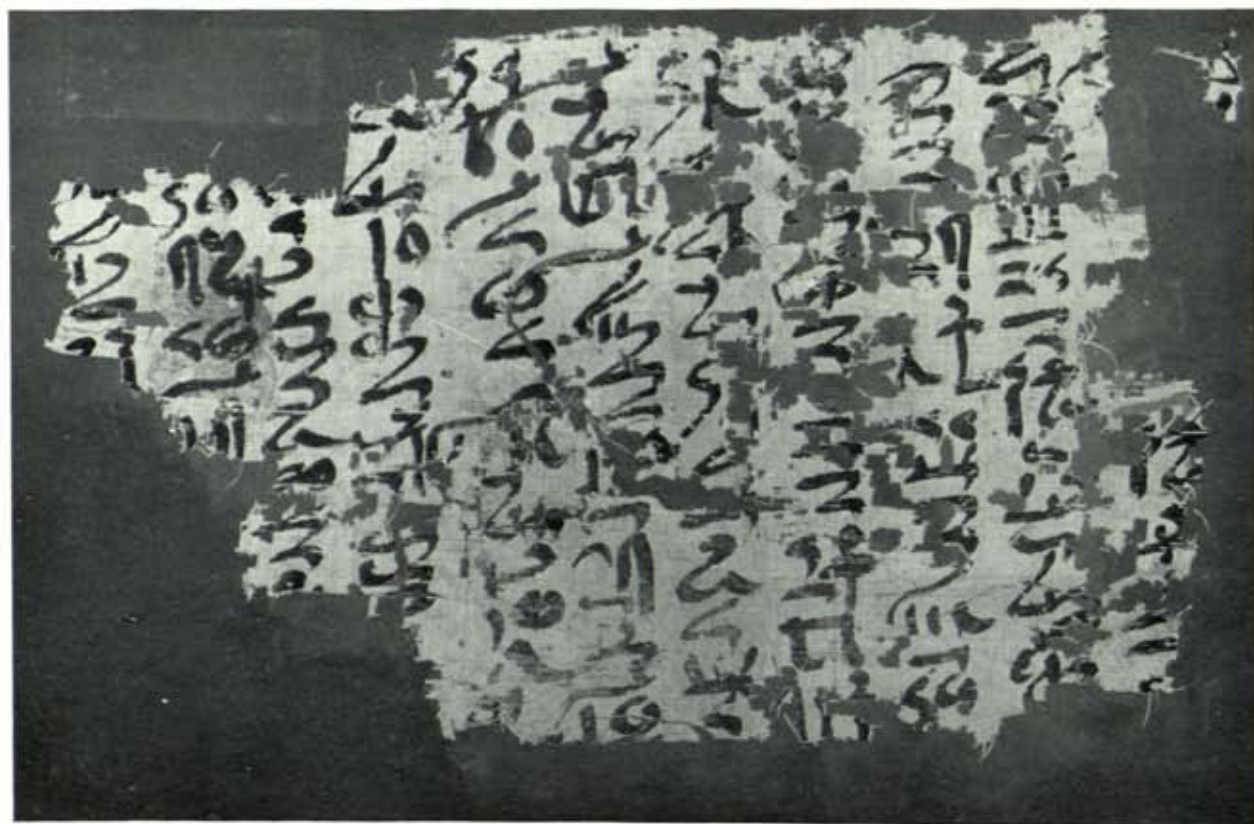
<sup>1</sup> The *Story of Hay*, of which only the mutilated last section is preserved, was published by F. Ll. Griffith in *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, pl. 4, p. 4. The text of P. Butler 527 (P. British Museum 10274) we owe likewise to Griffith (*PSBA* 14, 458–60. 472, pls. 3, 4, with unnumbered double page of transcription following p. 472); see also G. Posener in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 6, 34, n. 4, with translation of columns 29–32. Another short narrative fragment is the so-called *Hirtengeschichte* of P. Berlin 3024, of which a translation with the most recent references is to be found in G. Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens* (1949), 26–28.

<sup>2</sup> One might cite in this context, as an exception, Eugène Dévaud's painstaking contribution, *L'Âge des papyrus égyptiens hiératiques d'après les graphies de certains mots*, Paris, 1924.

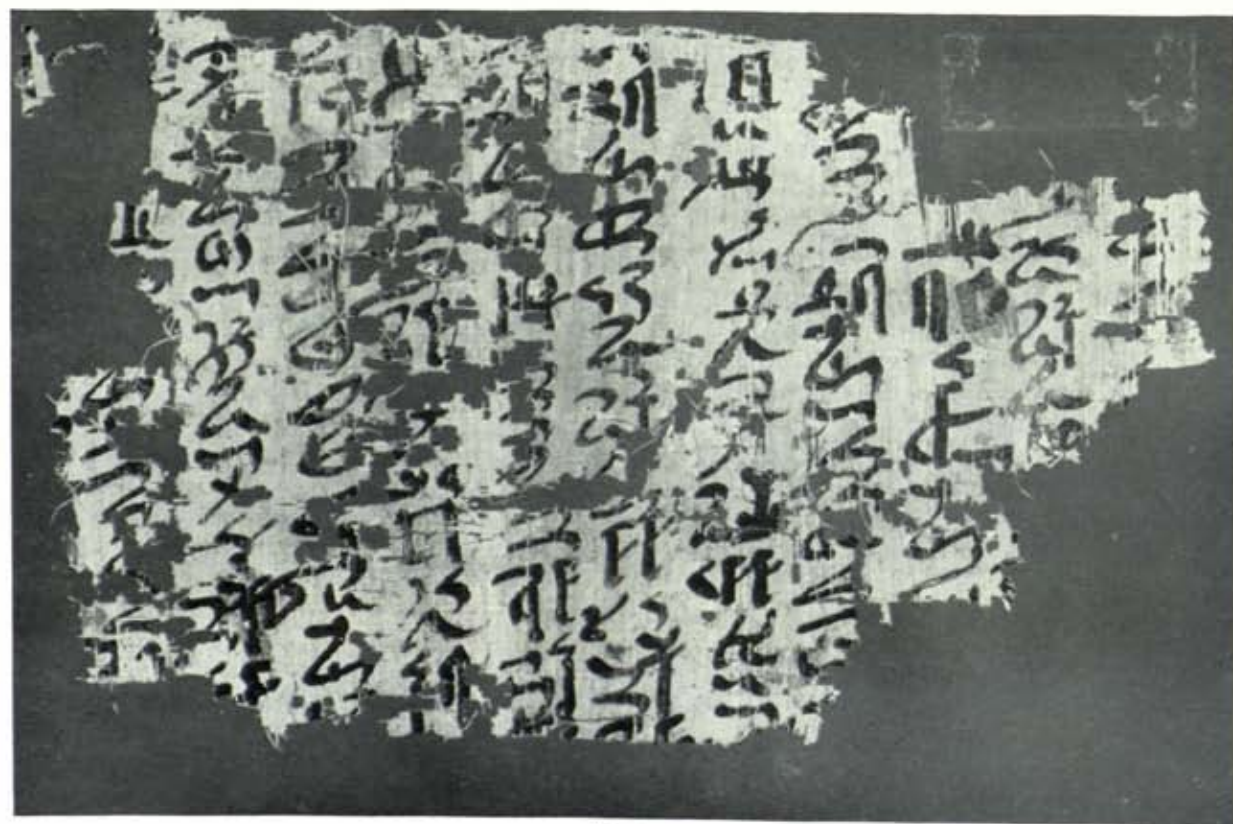
<sup>3</sup> *Hieratische Paläographie*, 1, no. 279.







Recto



Verso



2 <sup>2</sup> possible, although second sign is low. See, however, Vs. 4 below. b. Probably this and not  $\alpha$ .  
c. Read perhaps  $\text{I}^{\text{a}}$  alone. d. Read perhaps  $\text{I}^{\text{a}}$ . e. Traces do not suit  $\text{I}^{\text{a}}$  exactly.  
f. Unusual form. g. Traces suit  $\text{I}^{\text{a}}$  and  $\text{I}^{\text{b}}$  equally well. x.  $\text{I}^{\text{a}}$  would suit traces.

12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Vs.
												Vs.

a. Sign differs from  $\oint$ . b.  $\oint$  seems required in context, but  $\oint$  suits signs better. c. Unusual form. d. This suits traces reasonably well. e. Perhaps read  $\oint$   $\oint$   $\oint$ , although sense unclear.





following translation are offered. Should another version of the text come to light, it is certain that several of my tentative readings will have to be rejected; others, I feel, will be confirmed.

### Translation

#### Recto:

- (1) Said (?) . . . . . the vizier Djefa's son N . . .
- (2) to the field of the vizier Weḥa<sup>c</sup>u [which]
- (3) is on the eastern side of the Residence.
- (4) He loaded a Byblos-boat of the palace, l. p. h., [with]
- (5) every good thing . . . *ṯṯpt* . . .
- (6) from his house. They spent the whole day while his son [made]
- (7) [holi]day. After even-
- (8) ing came, there was given [to him . . . the]
- (9) [*ḥṯw*]yt. The *šdt* was placed . . . . .
- (10) . . . . . *nw ms ḥft* . . . . .
- (11) . . . . . great as to possessions . . . . .

#### Verso:

- (1) . . . . .
- (2) . . . the *ḥṯwy*[*t*]. . . . .
- (3) . . . sitting (*feminine*) inside . . .
- (4) He said to her, Who are you? . . .
- (5) It is my house. The confederates entered it. They . . .
- (6) me to the *ḥṯwy*t. Then they threw (?)
- (7) me on the water. She was with . . .
- (8) . . . . . his daughter came forth . . . . .
- (9) . . . every day. After
- (10) many months passed by, the king[*'s*?] . . .
- (11) [*traces*]
- (12) [*faint traces on right edge*]

### Commentary

For several matters not discussed under this heading, reference should be made to the notes to the transcription.

Rt. 1. 'The vizier Djefa's son N . . .' seems to be a reasonable reading of the fragmentary original. The vizier may be either the subject of a verb of motion or the individual responsible for issuing a command. These alternatives would yield translations such as, 'the vizier Djefa's son N . . . [went] to the field . . .', or 'the vizier Djefa's son N . . . [said, Go] to the field . . .'. The first solution would dispose of the available space more conveniently. In either case, we have an illustration of one of the duties of the vizier, for the outfitting of boats appears in the list of the vizier's duties in the Rekhmire<sup>c</sup> text.<sup>1</sup>

Rt. 2-3. Since the Residence of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty was at Itjet-towe on the west bank, a field situated to its east would have been between the Residence and the river. It is in this vicinity that a Byblos-boat is loaded, and one has to assume

<sup>1</sup> N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re<sup>c</sup> at Thebes*, II, pl. 122, col. 34 (*ḥṯw*, 'barges'); Wolfgang Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, 39.

that the field was on the bank of the Nile itself or on an easily accessible canal. On the vizier Weḥaʿu, see under the heading of general considerations below. The possibility that *whrw* may be a verb and not a proper name has been considered and rejected, although as an argument in its favour one might cite the occurrence of a determinative after the title. The geminated form of *wmn* is unusual in this context, if my restoration of *ntt* at the end of the preceding column is correct (Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>3</sup>, § 201).<sup>1</sup>

Rt. 3-4. The division of a word between two columns in vertically written texts of the same period is not uncommon; examples chosen from among many are *Lebensmüde*, 47-48, 57-58, and 70-71.

Rt. 4. There can hardly be any question as to the correctness of the reading, 'Byblos-boat,' once this possibility is recognized. The phrase *kbnt nt pr nsw* illustrates the situation whereby foreign commerce was carried on as a royal monopoly. The verb *ṯpt* is similarly followed by these two determinatives in hieratic texts of the Middle Kingdom (*Shipwrecked Sailor*, 166), and thus the reading of the second sign should not be questioned on this account.

Rt. 5. As indicated in the transcription and translation, this column presents a number of difficulties which may eventually be solved but for which I confess that I am unable to offer any reasonable ideas. The last word may be the rare *ṯpt*, 'box,' if it is not to be taken as a verb. For the word following *m* no suggestion is offered, although there are clearly enough traces to enable one to attempt a solution. The first sign appears to be a vertical one and is followed by *w*; *wḏ* and *hṯmw* have been considered, as well as *ḥrw*, 'load.'

Rt. 6. The suggested transliteration and translation are not to be considered authoritative. On *wṛš*, see Gunn's study in *Rec. trav.* 39, 108-9.

Rt. 7. *Hrw nfr* seems inevitable.

Rt. 7-8. *Mšrw* so determined is attested, and the reading is considered probable if not incontrovertible. One must admit, however, that the sign read as the recumbent lion does not suit the usual form in contemporary hieratic (Möller, *Hier. Pal.* 1, no. 125, and Posener, op. cit., fig. 6). The traces of the sign in P.Lythgoe can be compared, however, with Möller's example from P.Prisse 8, 2.

Rt. 9. The word *hṛwyṯ* is completed from vs. 2 and 6. The unusual form of the wood determinative in rt. 9 is certainly this sign, as the same writing occurs with the phrase *hṛ-m-ḥt* in rt. 7 and vs. 9. Note, however, that P.Lythgoe also exhibits the usual form of the sign in the determinative of *hṛwyṯ* in vs. 6. In this last case it occupies only half a line. The word thus determined does not appear elsewhere, to the best of my knowledge, and its meaning is not easily established. Dr. Wolfhart Westendorf has been kind enough to search the files of the Berlin dictionary on my behalf, and he informs me in a letter dated 15.7.58 that the results are negative. The context is not very helpful in this case, but one might consider the possibility that the word may be either 'stake', 'pole', or 'mast', or else 'chest' or 'box'. The feminine noun *šdt* also poses a

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps [*ntt*] *wn n-s* is to be understood, '[which] belongs to her'. See G. Posener in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 5, 254. This would be more logical, but it would result in a cumbersome phrase: 'the field of the vizier Weḥaʿu, [which] belongs to her, on the eastern side of the Residence'.



difficulty, since neither the words 'dough' or 'well' are appropriate or suitable for the traces of the determinative. Perhaps there is a feminine counterpart to *šdw*, 'water-skin'.

Vs. 2. See above under rt. 9 for *hwy*.

Vs. 3. *m hnw* is either used adverbially or with following noun or pronoun.

Vs. 4. The reading embodied in the transcription and translation, although it was arrived at with considerable difficulty, seems quite likely. The protagonist of the narrative on his return finds a strange woman sitting in his house and asks her who she is: *n-m tr tn*. He does not stop to wait for an answer, to judge from the available space at the end of the column and the fact that he appears to continue his speech in the following columns. It is possible, of course, that the original height of the columns was greater.

Vs. 4-5. The phrase *pr-i pw* may have been preceded by a particle like *mk* or *ist* (Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*,<sup>3</sup> § 133).

Vs. 5. The *smwt*, 'confederates', are the perpetrators of hostile actions, the unlawful (?) entry of the man's house and the casting (?) of the man into the water. The confederates would appear to have been bands of desperados or bandits, and the word is used of the cohorts of Seth in religious texts. Volten, however, in his commentary on *Merikare*, 94, envisages the word as meaning there 'verbündete Leute' without a hostile sense.<sup>1</sup> To the consideration of the occurrences of the word in literary texts of the Middle Kingdom (*The Eloquent Peasant*, *The Admonitions*, *Merikare*, and now our new text) should be added the passage in P.Kahun, 21, 30 (cited by *Wb.* III, 450, 10) in which payment of taxes (*htrw*) is made to the *smwt*. Even if these taxes are in the nature of extortion, this last passage may force us to revise our understanding of the term in the literary texts, for it at least credits the confederates with a status somewhat above that of the ordinary group of brigands. In the other occurrences the confederates are generally regarded as hostile groups to be repressed (so in the *Rekhamirē* text).<sup>2</sup> The noun in the execration texts for allies, *smtiw*, is probably a different word based on the same stem.

Vs. 5-6. The speculation advanced above that the *hwy* may be a stake or box is based upon this passage. After the confederates have entered the house and before they cast (?) the man into the water, they do something to him in connexion with the *hwy*. It might be suggested that they bind him to a stake or that they enclose him in a box before casting him into the water.

Vs. 8. The greater part of this column remains unclear to me, although the traces again would seem to be sufficient for a more successful attempt at a reading. See the notes to the transcription.

Vs. 9. The first two groups may be the end of a word like *isd*. The reading *r-tp* has been considered and then rejected on the basis of an examination of the original.

Vs. 10. It is possible that the king now appears in the story, but it must be remembered that the subject of *ch-n* might just as well be a compound such as *syt nsw*.

### General considerations

The probable occurrence of *hwy* on both recto and verso and the narrative charac-

<sup>1</sup> *Analecta, aegyptiaca*, IV, 49. For this passage, see now Ricardo A. Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script*, pl. 27, line 11.

<sup>2</sup> Davies, *op. cit.*, pl. 12, line 31.



ter of both speak strongly in favour of our regarding the two parts as sections of a single story. On the recto there is a description of the outfitting of a Byblos-boat from a place near the Residence. This suits an episode near the beginning of a narrative. The verso presents an account of the return of the protagonist to his home and his discovery of a strange woman occupying his house. He then launches into an account of his misadventures at the hands of the confederates, who seem to have attempted to drown him. The phrase, 'his daughter came forth', may indicate that he was saved from a watery death at the hands of a woman. The episode of the homecoming and the relation of the man's misadventures would logically be elements of the narrative more appropriate to its latter part. In view of these circumstances I would suggest that P.Lythgoe presents us with fragments of a single story with the section on the recto coming first in its development. If the Byblos-boat were sailed to the coast of Lebanon, the fragments may belong to an extensive tale to which we might assign a title such as *The Misadventures of an Egyptian Traveller to Byblos*, thus regarding it as a predecessor of *Wenamūn*. Naturally, our meagre fragments hardly authorize us to assume that this was the subject matter of the original tale.

On the basis of the palaeographical details discussed above, I would assign the date of the manuscript to the latter half or the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty. The vizier or viziers mentioned would then have to be placed in the Twelfth Dynasty or in an earlier period. If *whꜥw* is a proper name,<sup>1</sup> the vizier Weḥaꜥu would have to be considered either as an allegorical appellation, 'the vizier Fisherman', as a fictitious character, or as a historical personage. The last alternative would seem to be the most likely. Since his name occurs in a place name, he may have been a former owner of the field and not necessarily contemporary with the events described. The vizier Djefa's son N . . . has to be considered as the vizier in office. Neither of these officials, to the best of my knowledge, occurs in other sources, and it is to the text of P.Lythgoe that we owe the only indication of their existence. Since the literary narratives of the Middle Kingdom are set in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period as well as the Middle Kingdom, it is difficult to determine the probable date of the setting of our narrative. The dispatching of a Byblos boat may be an indication that the period was one in which commerce with the Levant was not interrupted.<sup>2</sup>

Not the least interest of the fragment is its provenance. The necropolis at el-Lisht served as the first royal cemetery of the Twelfth Dynasty, and one expects that the narrative of P.Lythgoe may have had a degree of currency at the court of Itjet-towe.

Even in its present state the narrative would seem to be worthy of inclusion in the catalogue of Egyptian literary texts compiled by M. Georges Posener, and this modest *editio princeps* is offered to him as a slight contribution to his *Recherches littéraires* and as an addition to his *Richesses inconnues*.<sup>3</sup>

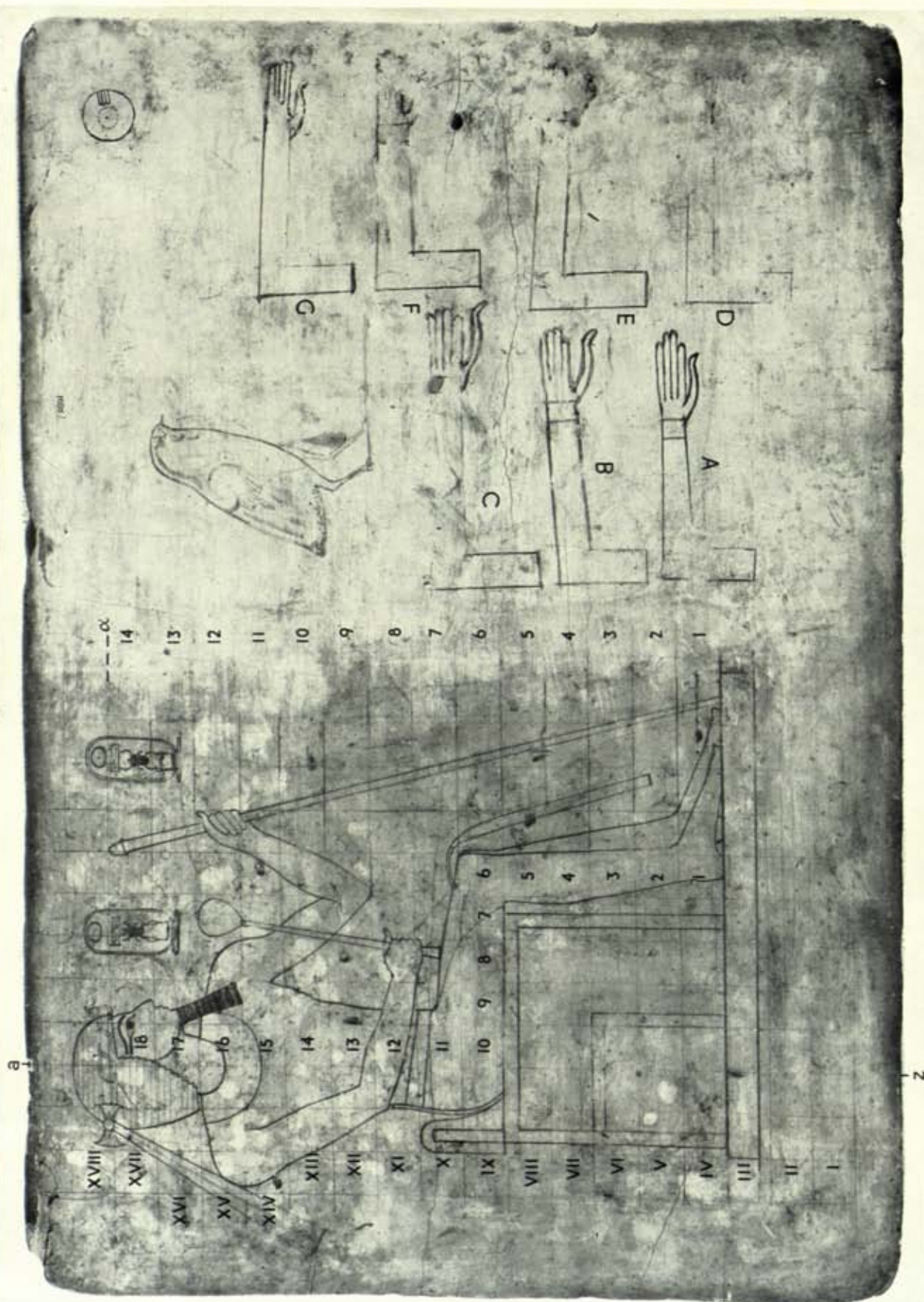
<sup>1</sup> Ranke in *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 11, 275, 5, cites a N.K. occurrence of this name in *Bull. Soc. égyptol. à l'Université de l'État de Leningrad*, 2, 28, a publication not accessible to me.

<sup>2</sup> One cannot assume as a matter of course that the destination of every Byblos-boat was the Levant. See, most recently, the remarks of Montet in *Kémi*, 13, 63-70.

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. d'égyptol.* 6, 27-48. Additional note: the stray fragment on the plates has not been correctly located, but it seems clear that it belongs to the same document.









## A CANONICAL MASTER-DRAWING IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

By ERIK IVERSEN

THE subject of this paper is a rectangular wooden board in the collection of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum (catalogue number 5601); it is 36.4 cm. high and 53.7 cm. broad and is covered with a coating of stucco.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known about its exact provenance, but Birch noted in his manuscript catalogue that it was found in a Theban tomb. Two cartouches<sup>2</sup> inscribed with the name of Tuthmosis III<sup>3</sup> together with the general style of the main representation make an Eighteenth Dynasty dating indisputable. The reverse of the board is blank, but the front bears a seated representation of the king, drawn in black ink over an original outline in red; it is inscribed within a grid which originally covered the whole surface of the board. This grid was rubbed out on the right half of the surface in antiquity and here there now remain a drawing of a circular object, which Capart described as a cake,<sup>4</sup> a master-drawing of a quail-chick, and seven separate representations of a human arm.

The principal representation, with which we are here mainly concerned, is the royal figure on the left; it is of particular interest inasmuch as it is a perfect illustration of a correctly represented seated figure, drawn according to the principles of the first canon of proportions.<sup>5</sup> At this preliminary stage in our investigations we shall avoid all theoretical discussions and confine our attention to a mechanical comparison between this representation, which can be seen on pl. XVI and the figure of Amenophis III which is still preserved within its grid on the walls of that king's tomb in Biban el-Moluk (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> Before we can make this comparison, however, it is necessary to make clear what is the relationship within the canon between seated and standing figures. A few remarks are also needed on the mutual relations between Egyptian figures in two dimensions and sculptures in the round.

Schäfer has demonstrated beyond doubt<sup>7</sup> that in all Egyptian drawings and reliefs the upper part of the human body is projected so that the front, as represented, is the breast, usually with one nipple shown in profile, while the rear, as represented, shows the back of the person. In those drawings, one of which can be seen in fig. 2,<sup>8</sup> where the proportional divisions are marked by horizontal lines intersecting a single vertical line

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum and to Mr. I. E. S. Edwards for permission to publish it here.

<sup>2</sup> There are faint traces of a third, uninscribed (?) cartouche in the upper left-hand corner. One of the others is preceded by the epithet  $\overline{\text{ḥ}}\text{ḥ}$  written in red and now almost obliterated.

<sup>3</sup> For other examples of the name written  $\odot\overline{\text{ḥ}}\text{ḥ}$ , cf. Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, II, 254, nos. V, XXIII; 267, no. LXI. Capart confused it with  $\odot\overline{\text{ḥ}}\text{ḥ}$ , the name of Tuthmosis I.

<sup>4</sup> Capart, *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien*, II, 56.

<sup>5</sup> See my *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*, 32.

<sup>7</sup> H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3rd ed. (1930), 266-9.

<sup>6</sup> From Lepsius, *Denkm.* v, iii, pl. 78.

<sup>8</sup> From Lepsius, *Denkm.* I, ii, pl. 234.



that runs just in front of the ear, we can demonstrate that this vertical line is the axis around which these projections of the front and back of the torso and also of all other parts of the body, revolve. In fig. 2 this axis is the line *a-Z*; in representations drawn in a full grid the axis is the vertical line that runs just in front of the ear (line *a-Z* in fig. 1) and it divides the upper part of the body into two parts which are usually identical in width (e.g. in fig. 2). Occasionally, however, the rear part is one-quarter of a square

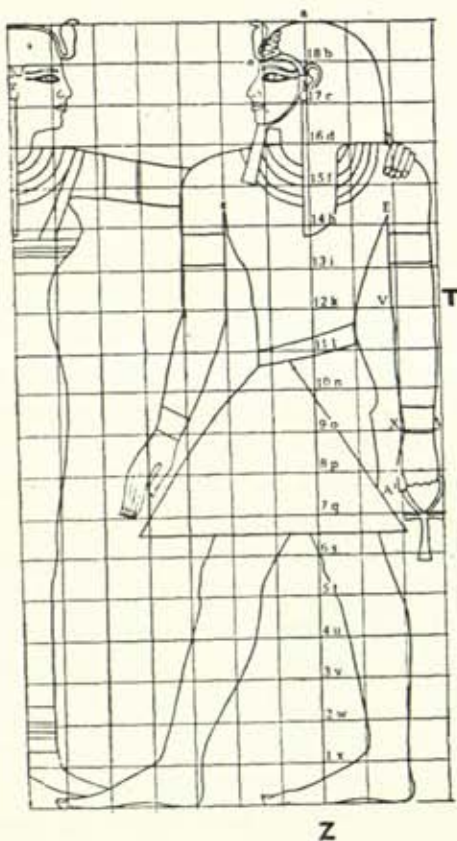


FIG. 1

narrower than the front part, as can be seen on pl. XVI and in fig. 1.<sup>1</sup> From the representation on the wooden board it is evident that the same line (*a-Z* on pl. XVI) is the axis for seated figures. It is surprising that the importance of this line in the construction of figures has not been recognized before, for it provides the natural starting-point of any attempt to demonstrate the relationship between the technique of representation in two dimensions and the technique used for the production of sculpture in the round. The recognition of the proper function of this axis also facilitates the understanding of the problems of projection implicit in two-dimensional representations; in the past the many explanations of these problems have been extremely varied and there have been many misunderstandings.

Fig. 2 provides the best illustration of the way in which the various parts of the body can be turned around this axis-line so as to arrive at their 'natural' positions when observed frontally. All representations, however, both in drawing and in relief conform to the same pattern and comply with the same rules. Let us examine what happens to the figure in fig. 2 if we 'turn' the

parts of the body in this way.

The head (*a-16d*) is turned 90 degrees to the left. The shoulders retain their position, but the chest (*E-e*) is turned until the nipples achieve their position symmetrically on either side of the axis. The navel, which is not shown on fig. 2 but has its position, according to the canon, in the square above the front of the belt, just within the outline of the body, is turned until it reaches its natural position in the centre on the axis itself. This theoretical twisting of the front of the body 90 degrees to the left is accompanied by a similarly theoretical twisting of the back 90 degrees to the right and of the legs 90 degrees to the left. If the representation of a figure is theoretically turned in this way so

<sup>1</sup> The reasons for this are still obscure but they undoubtedly have something to do with the fact that in sculpture in the round the right shoulder is frequently taken out of the frontal plane and advanced to follow the forward stride of the leg.



that it occupies a frontal position, it will be found that in this position it will in all details correspond to a similar figure, carved in the round, observed frontally. The line *a-Z* remains, however, the central axis, running down between the eyes, along the ridge of the nose, dividing the body into two symmetrical halves, to a point between the

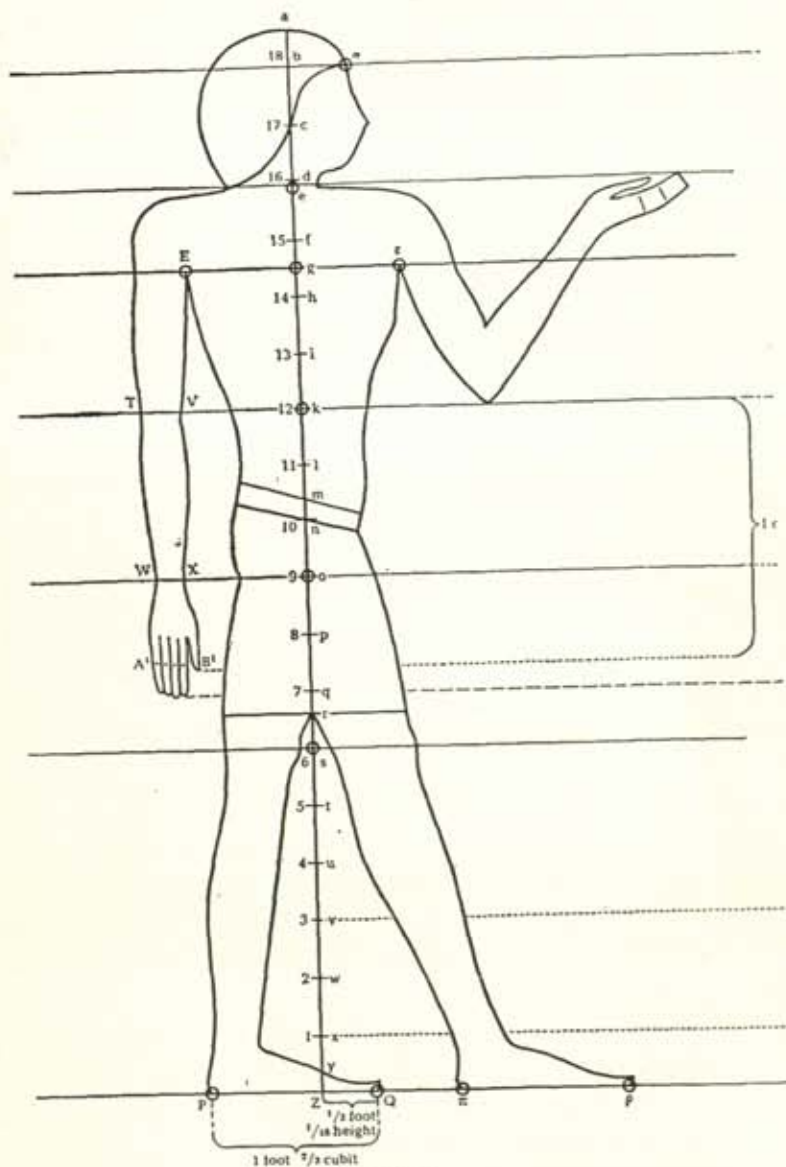


FIG. 2

closed feet. It provides, therefore, a standard element by which we can demonstrate the uniformity in constructional method that subsumes Egyptian representations in two dimensions and sculptures in the round. In the past the inability to explain this uniformity has always been a stumbling block for theorists on Egyptian art. The appreciation of this fact also makes it clear that the peculiar Egyptian way of projecting the human body in two dimensions was the result of positive technical efforts to overcome the

dimensional limitations of such representations; that the Egyptians did draw the body in this way cannot be used as evidence to support theories about any particular Egyptian approach to visual phenomena.

If we compare the figures in pl. XVI and fig. 1, bearing in mind what has already been said, it is clear that the full theoretical height of the seated figure can be arrived at by counting the squares from the line at the feet up to the hair-line (which was the upper measuring point in the first canon), following the line of the body around the bend of the knee. From base-line to knee is 6 squares; along the thigh to the axis-line is 4 squares; from the level of the knee upwards along the axis to the hair-line is 8 squares, the total being 18 squares, which exactly equals the number of squares in height required for the standing figure of a man. Further examination reveals that all points and parts of the body of the seated figure are placed in the grid in precisely the same squares as they would be if the figure had been shown standing. If we were, therefore, to straighten out the seated figure and set it in a grid with its feet on the base-line, its hair-line would correspond to the top line of the eighteenth square and the figure would altogether correspond to a correct representation of a similar figure in a standing position. This coincidence of representation between a seated and a standing figure is additionally confirmed by a comparison between the details of the seated figure on the board and those of the standing figure in fig. 1. Starting with the feet we find that there is a discrepancy, representing not an exception from, but a permissible variation of, the canon. Lepsius pointed out<sup>1</sup> that in the canonical system of the grid there were two ways of representing the foot. Firstly, the foot could be in length 3 full squares of the grid, in which case it retained its proper metrological relationship with the length of the arm, which was one cubit, and with the height of the standing figure, which was one fathom; a relationship of 2 : 3 in the case of the former and of 1 : 6 in the case of the latter. When this method of representing the foot was used it was usual to show both feet of a figure as being of the same length. The second method was to pay proper attention to the feet from an anatomical point of view. In the ordinary human body the right foot is longer than the left and sometimes the Egyptians represented this difference by extending the length of the right foot beyond the 3 squares to the extent of the first joint of the big toe. On the British Museum board the feet are of equal length and are of the correct metrological length, which is 3 squares. In fig. 1 we have an illustration of the second method with the anatomical representation; here, however, both feet are again of the same length.

If we continue our comparison between the two figures we see that in both cases the length of the leg from the sole of the foot to a point just below the knee is 5 squares.

The knee is placed in the sixth square and the distance from here to the waist-line, as indicated by the top of the belt, is 5 squares. From the waist to the point where the neck joins the body is another 5 squares and the neck and the face as far as the hair-line take up 2 squares. The part of the head that lies above the hair-line varies in height according to the head-dress, wig, or crown, and it does not belong within the normal scope of the canon. In both of the cases here compared, however, it does occupy pre-

<sup>1</sup> R. Lepsius, *Über die ägyptischen Proportionen. Die Längenmaße der Alten*, Berlin, 1884. Anhang.



cisely one square. In other small details also, such as the length of the beard and the position of the necklace, there is absolute accord between the two. In lateral measurements we find the same agreement: at the waist, which is the narrowest point (at 111), both figures measure  $2\frac{1}{2}$  squares, and across the shoulders they are  $5\frac{3}{4}$  squares, 3 of which fall in front of the axis and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  behind the axis.

The comprehensive study of the gestures of the arms and their positions within the grid according to the canon has not yet been completed; it is not possible, therefore, satisfactorily to compare arms in different attitudes in different figures. Some legitimate observations can, nevertheless, be made on the basis of what is already known and to that extent can be controlled. It can be seen that in the figure in pl. XVI the distance from the elbow to the wrist in both arms is 3 squares, i.e. the same length as the foot. The distance from the elbow to the tip of the thumb is different in the two arms; if we measure them both in terms of the grid we find that the right arm measures  $4\frac{1}{4}$  squares and the left arm  $4\frac{1}{2}$  squares. The right hand, which clasps the mace, is shown to be shorter than the left in accordance with the rule of the canon that when a hand is shown clasping an object so that the thumb is bent around the object, it is one-quarter square shorter than a hand with thumb outstretched, as is the case with the left hand. In the latter case we have a normal canonical arm with closed fist and extended thumb which regularly measures  $4\frac{1}{2}$  squares from elbow to thumb-tip. This measurement is equivalent to one-quarter of the full height of a figure (18 squares), that is, one cubit; the foot is two-thirds of this arm-length (3 squares). It is curious to note also that the mace is precisely  $4\frac{1}{2}$  squares long, the equivalent of one armlength or one small cubit. Furthermore, the elbow of the left arm in pl. XVI rests on the top line of square 12, while in fig. 1 the inner angle of the elbow of the right arm lies on the same line. The length of this arm from 12*k* to the tip of the thumb is also  $4\frac{1}{2}$  squares. The full understanding of the many problems involved in the positioning of arms in their various attitudes is, however, not yet achieved; these problems cannot be considered within the scope of the present article.

From the drawing of the left hand in pl. XVI it is clear that the length of the side of one square equals one full handbreadth of 4 fingers plus thumb. This fact is also demonstrated in fig. 1, where the 4 fingers and thumb of the right hand are equivalent to the side of one square. From the markings of cubit rods and from ancient metrological terminology we know that the unit consisting of 4 fingers and the thumb is the first; its precise measurement is  $1\frac{1}{3}$  handbreadths (the simple handbreadth being 4 fingers only) or  $5\frac{1}{3}$  fingers, the thumb therefore being reckoned as  $1\frac{1}{3}$  fingers. With these observations in mind, and without attempting here to explain or justify them theoretically, we can present the relationships between the various parts of the body represented in pl. XVI in the following manner, in terms of the canon of proportions:

Height from feet to hair-line: 18 squares.

Arm-length from elbow to tip of thumb:  $4\frac{1}{2}$  squares = one-quarter height.

Foot: 3 squares = distance from elbow to wrist = two-thirds length of arm = one-sixth height of figure.

Length of side of one square = one full handbreadth of 4 fingers plus thumb.



These relationships are precisely the same as those found in a correct representation of a standing figure.<sup>1</sup> We can, therefore, establish the general rule that the proportions of seated and standing figures correctly reproduced in accordance with the rules of the canon of proportions, are identical.

To this extent the principal aim of this investigation has been achieved. Some additional remarks are needed, however, for those who wish to understand the true nature of the canon, its technical and constructional basis, and the way in which the ratios between the various parts of the body were arrived at. We have already seen that the side of a square of a grid corresponds to the full handbreadth of the figure inscribed within that grid. In order to understand the full significance of this observation we must first consider the relationships that exist between the various units of the canon and those of the ordinary Egyptian measure of length, the small cubit.

The systems of linear measurement current in the Ancient World are mostly related to each other and are systems of proportions. The Ancient Egyptian system is founded on the mutual relations between certain parts of the human body; the ratios which determine the relations between the various units of the system represent a standardization of the natural proportions of the body. The cubit itself was derived from and then identified with the length of the arm, originally measured from the elbow to the tip of the outstretched thumb. It was divided into 6 handbreadths of 4 fingers each because such a division represented a standardization of the natural relationship between the handbreadth and arm-length. For a similar reason the foot was considered two-thirds of the cubit or 4 handbreadths. The largest 'anatomical' unit in the system was the fathom which was originally identified with the distance between the tips of the two thumbs when the arms were stretched out sideways; this distance was reckoned as 6 feet or 4 cubits. In addition to the simple handbreadth the system also included an extended handbreadth of 5 fingers and a full handbreadth of 4 fingers plus the thumb of  $1\frac{1}{3}$  fingers. This last unit which was equivalent  $1\frac{1}{3}$  simple handbreadths, was of primary importance in the canonical system because it was used as the basic measurement in the construction of the grid.

The closely related problems concerning the proportional significance of one square and the fixed ratios within the canon can at the same time be illuminated and solved if we substitute the anatomical and metrological term 'fist' for the theoretical and, seemingly, meaningless term 'square' in the proportional analysis we have already produced for the figure in pl. XVI. The consequences of this apparently simple terminological change are greater than one might expect, for the true significance and function of the grid cannot be revealed until its theoretical nature is acknowledged and understood. With the knowledge that the first (or full handbreadth) is equivalent to  $1\frac{1}{3}$  handbreadths, let us now substitute it for square in the analysis. The 3 squares of the foot become 4 handbreadths which corresponds to the metrological value of the foot in all Near-Eastern systems of linear measurement; in this relationship we can see a standardization of the natural relation between the hand and the foot. The  $4\frac{1}{2}$  squares

<sup>1</sup> For the analysis of the canon in connexion with standing figures see my *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*, 32-37.



of the arm-length likewise become 6 handbreadths; herein we can see its conformity with the small cubit from an anatomical and metrological point of view. Similarly the 18 squares of the height of the figure become 24 handbreadths; thus restated this measurement is equivalent to the fathom and in Greece the fathom was considered the standard height of a male person. From this substitution of terms we are able to confirm the observation that the canon of proportions expressed in the grids represents a simple standardization of the natural proportions of the human body and that the ratios of the various parts to each other are identical with those of the corresponding units of linear measurement. We can also confirm that there is an absolute conformity on the basis of the canon between seated and standing representations. Standing representations are inscribed within a grid of 18 squares in height from the foot-line to the hair-line, while seated representations are inscribed within a grid of 14 squares in height from the foot-line to the hair-line; the remaining 4 squares in the latter are contained within the line of the thigh, which is horizontal. The practical results of this demonstration are not without importance. By the simple process of dividing the height of any seated figure into fourteen parts from the foot-line to the hair-line we can obtain the length of the side of one square of the grid within which the figure was originally inscribed. We can reconstruct this grid by using this length for the sides of the individual squares and by allowing one of the vertical lines to run just in front of the ear of the figure—the line *a-Z* on pl. XVI. With the grid thus constructed we can make a proportional analysis of any seated representation which has been drawn according to the canon and we can also register any small but significant variations in the canonical pattern which may be due to temporal, geographical, or individual considerations. If the available material were to be restudied along these lines, an entirely new approach could be developed towards a variety of typological, chronological, and stylistic problems. *Stilgefühl* could be consolidated and aesthetic judgement could be reinforced by a tabulation of purely factual details derived from the geometric properties of the figures.

In conclusion a few remarks should be made about the other drawings on the British Museum board, all of which strangely enough appear to have been placed in the grid before it was washed out. This fact is particularly clear in the case of the chick. If the grid remaining on the left side of the board is extended to cover the board it will be found that the chick fits snugly into it, measuring exactly 3 squares across the body from the tip of the tail to the root of the beak and 5 squares in height. It seems clearly to be a master-drawing illustrating the correct canonical form for the corresponding hieroglyphic sign.

It is more difficult to explain the accompanying drawings of human arms and hands; from the positions of the upper arms, shown as rectangular projections at right angles to the forearms, and of the thumbs it is clear that these representations are upside down in relation to the other drawings on the board. Like the chick they were also inscribed within the grid and their mutual relationships are dependent on the grid. They are drawn in a rather rough and sketchy manner and this makes it difficult to establish the exact relationships between the different representations. A comparison of their dimensions reveals that there is a definite system in the way they vary one from another.



It becomes clear then that they were drawn for a specific purpose, namely, to illustrate the ratios between some of the basic units of linear measurement, in particular those involved in the arm-length and the handbreadth.

The full handbreadth of arm *A* corresponds to one square of the grid, thus fixing the basic measurement of the grid as the equivalent of the fist, i.e.  $1\frac{1}{3}$  simple handbreadths

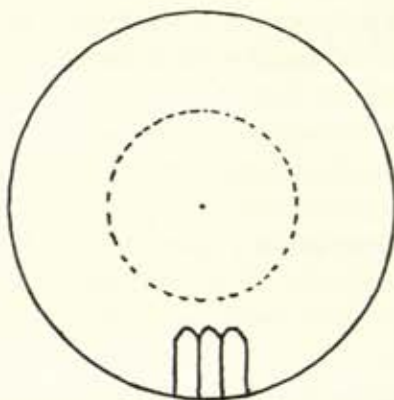


FIG. 3

or  $5\frac{1}{3}$  fingers. The distance from the inner angle of the elbow to the wrist, here indicated by the foremost edge of the bracelet, is 3 squares, i.e. 4 handbreadths, which makes it two-thirds the distance from the elbow to the tip of the thumb which, in turn, is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  squares on 6 handbreadths, the equivalent of one small cubit as originally identified anatomically. Arm *A* has, therefore, the same dimensions and internal relations as the arm of the seated representation on the board. The fingers of arm *A* are shown outstretched and the distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger is the full arm-length of  $5\frac{1}{4}$  squares which corresponds to the 7 handbreadths of the large or royal cubit. Arm *B* has the same full length, apparently, as arm *A*, but the hand is shortened and the bracelet set farther down the arm so that the 3 squares of the forearm are to be measured from the inner angle of the elbow to the rear edge of the bracelet. Another difference is that the thumb is set farther away from the other fingers so as to illustrate, probably, one of the units developed from the handbreadth, such as the small or great span. Arm *C* has a length of about  $5\frac{3}{4}$  squares; the thumb is set as for arm *B* and the length of the forearm has to be measured from the inner angle of the elbow to the root of the thumb; it is 4 squares. Arms *D* and *E* are only partially preserved and we can make no useful observations about them. Arm *G* and probably arm *F* also have full arm-lengths of about  $4\frac{3}{4}$  squares and the forearms from elbow to root of thumb are reduced to the 3 squares of arms *A* and *B*. In arm *G* the full handbreadth is probably intended to be smaller than in arm *A*. At present the significance of the metrological details of the various parts is not fully understood, but it does seem indisputable that the purpose of these arm-drawings was to illustrate units of linear measurement. They do not, however, seem to be absolutely correct in detail, and are probably rough sketches intended as *aides-mémoire* or as illustrations for the master's oral explanations. Possibly a closer



analysis of the various measurements would lead to a solution of these problems, but it falls outside the scope of this article.

It is significant that the remaining drawing on the board also illustrates metrological problems. It is the small figure inserted in the right upper corner which Capart described as a cake. Regarded objectively it seems to be a free-hand drawing of a circle, the theoretical centre of which is indicated by a dot. Within this circle is another, dotted, concentric circle and a schematic representation of three fingers drawn without indications of joints or nails and clearly not shown in their full length. As drawn their length equals their breadth and from this we can deduce that what is shown is that part from the first joint above the knuckles to the tip. Proportionally this part of the finger represents 3 fingerbreadths and herein lies the reason why three fingers were drawn. They were drawn in order to make it clear that the part which here for practical reasons was indicated by finger-length was intended to represent the measurement of 3 fingerbreadths. The tips of the fingers do not extend as far as the dotted inner circle; there is a gap left corresponding roughly to one fingerbreadth. The distance, therefore, between the outer and inner circles is 4 fingers or 1 handbreadth. If the diameter of the smaller circle is supposed to be half that of the larger, which it in fact appears to be, then the diameter of the larger is 16 fingers or 4 handbreadths, its radius being 8 fingers or 2 handbreadths. A radial line running from the outer circle, through the centre and extended to the dotted circle on the other side would in length be three-quarters the diameter of the larger circle and would be equivalent to the span (*σπιθαμή*) of 3 handbreadths; the diameter itself of 4 handbreadths represents the two-thirds cubit measurement, which in the canon was identified with the foot. The drawing in fig. 3 represents the figure on the board with the implied measurements correctly represented.

If this explanation of the circular figure is accepted it is clear that it belongs very well with the other drawings on the board. Being only a rough drawing it should not be taken too seriously for the way in which it is executed;<sup>1</sup> it should be regarded as a device used by a master-craftsman to help a fellow craftsman or an apprentice to visualize in a simple and practical way the mutual relationships between some of the basic and most commonly used units of ordinary Egyptian linear measurement. Regarded thus it adds a touch of humanity to the somewhat unelevating character of the metrological problems here discussed.

<sup>1</sup> It is clear that the sketchy nature of the drawings makes it impossible to establish definitely which ratios it was the intention to delineate. Undoubtedly the relations between the different elements could be interpreted otherwise than is done here. In spite of this uncertainty there can be no doubt that the design is intended to have metrological significance. The relations chosen here are based on the simplest interpretation; they, moreover, are those that best conform with the drawing as it stands.

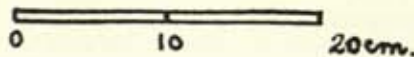
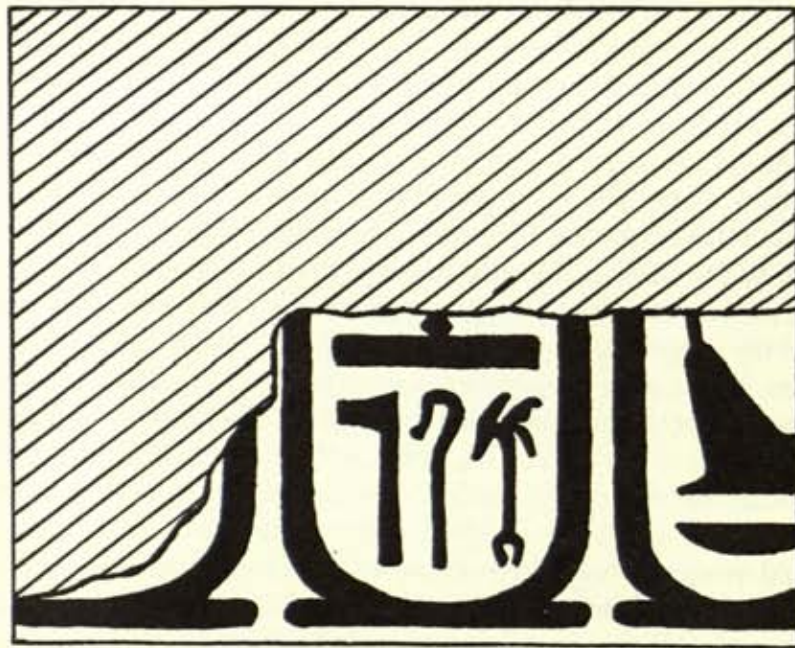
[*Postscript:* A re-examination of the writing-board has revealed traces of a second seated figure on the right-hand side of the board. The traces are slight but they indicate that the figure was similar to that on the left and was inscribed within the same grid. Unfortunately nothing is visible on the plate. Editor.]



## A BLOCK OF AMENOPHIS IV FROM ATHRIBIS

By H. W. FAIRMAN

WHEN Mr. Alan Rowe retired under the age limit from the post of Lecturer in Near Eastern Archaeology in the University of Manchester he handed over to me the surviving records of his excavations at Athribis in April 1938. It may be recalled that Mr. Rowe's excavations were conducted under the nominal aegis of the Institute of Archaeology, as it was then called, of the University of Liverpool, and hence it was thought right that the records should be preserved at Liverpool. The Athribis records are thus




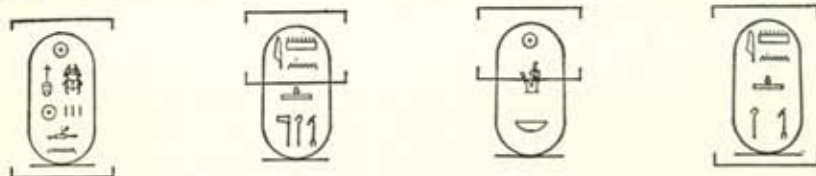
being kept in the Department of Egyptology, the University of Liverpool, where they are available for consultation. They consist solely of 86 pages of manuscript with a list of 408 pots and other objects found during the excavations: the objects are accompanied by sketches to scale, and full details of dimensions and circumstances of discovery. There are no photographs, plans, or other notes among the papers. It is understood that a duplicate copy of this list was deposited by Mr. Rowe with the Antiquities Service in Cairo.

On glancing idly through these papers when they were received my eye was soon



caught by object no. 406 found on the last day of the excavations. In Mr. Rowe's list it is described as 'Stone block (limestone); cartouches of Amenophis III (broken)' and is said to have been found south of the Ptolemaic or Graeco-Roman Temple.<sup>1</sup> A glance at Mr. Rowe's scale drawing reproduced above was sufficient to demonstrate that this statement was not entirely accurate.

The fragmentary cartouche on the extreme right of the block is undoubtedly the prenomen of Amenophis III [⊙] , but the cartouche immediately in front of it is not and cannot be that of Amenophis III and can only be the nomen of Amenophis IV [Imn] *hṯp nṯr ḥkꜣ Wꜣst*. To claim either that Mr. Rowe has copied inaccurately or that the cartouche is that of Amenophis III wrongly employing the epithet *nṯr ḥkꜣ Wꜣst* of Amenophis IV would involve the assumption that on this block the nomen of Amenophis III preceded the prenomen, and it is obvious that the signs preserved are parts of the names of both Amenophis III and Amenophis IV. It follows, therefore, that originally the wall from which this block came must have borne four cartouches which probably read:



Mr. Rowe has assured me that it was on the sole evidence of this block that in the published reports of his work he referred to a temple of Amenophis III at Athribis.<sup>2</sup> It is dangerous on the evidence of single blocks automatically to assume that any individual Pharaoh built on a particular Delta site, but in view of the association of Amenophis son of Hapu with Athribis and the hints that the latter himself has given,<sup>3</sup> it is not unreasonable to suppose that this block may indeed have come from a temple built at Athribis. But quite clearly there is more to this block than evidence of the existence of a temple of Amenophis III.

The remarkable feature of this block is, of course, the association of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV, a form of association that is without exact parallel in any of the other documents of the Amarna Period. In the first place, it will be noted that the royal name is that used before the change in name and the block cannot therefore be dated much later than Year 5 of Amenophis IV/Akhenaten. In the second place, it is quite extraordinary to find the names of both kings with that of the younger king, Amenophis IV, preceding that of his father.

It is important to try and obtain some idea of the probable nature of this block in its original state. Mr. Rowe gives the dimensions as 52 cm. wide, 42 cm. high, 59 cm. thick. Now the average Amarna block that has become familiar from excavations at Amarna, Hermopolis, or Karnak is approximately 52 × 26 × 26 cm.;<sup>4</sup> thus the Athribis

<sup>1</sup> The Graeco-Roman Temple referred to by Rowe lies on the *tell* slightly to the south-west of the site of the brick pyramid reported by Napoleon's mission: cf. *Descr. de l'Égypte, Ant.* v, pl. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *LAAA* 25, 125; *Ann. Serv.* 38, 525.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cairo 583; latest edition *Urk.* IV, 1824, 13-1825, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *MDIK* 14, 160.



block is roughly four times the size of the normal Amarna block. This fact makes it almost impossible to imagine that the block could have been brought to Athribis from any Upper Egyptian site, and at the same time it somewhat decreases the probability of the block's having emanated from a building primarily erected by Amenophis IV who is not known to have used blocks of these dimensions. At the same time the dimensions of the stone are such that it cannot be conceived as coming from any tablet or stela, it can surely only have come from a temple wall. That wall must have been quite solid, for since the back of the Athribis block is unworked, it is highly probable that it was backed by at least one more block of the same size and that it came from a wall at least 118 cm. thick. Already one has an impression of quite an imposing and solid wall. On this wall, the cartouches suggest there must have been standing figures of Amenophis IV and Amenophis III presumably making offering before a divinity.

It is difficult to imagine in what relationship the kings on this wall could have stood to each other if it were not as co-regents. If we were to assume that Amenophis III was dead and that his son was performing some rite in his memory, the question would immediately arise, what purpose would such a ceremony serve in Athribis of all places? Moreover, it is quite certain that if Amenophis IV were honouring his dead father in some way, the two kings would have been shown facing each other; the fact that the royal figures must have been one behind the other is proof that this monument could not have been a memorial to Amenophis III. If that be so, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that both kings were alive and reigning together, i.e. that they were co-regents. But here we encounter what is perhaps the most extraordinary feature of this block: the fact that Amenophis IV is given precedence over his father and is depicted before him. This cannot be disputed, and if indeed it be accepted that this block is further evidence of a co-regency, the conclusion appears inescapable that by his fifth year at the latest, at least outside the Theban area, Amenophis IV was the dominant partner in the co-regency, and Amenophis III little more than a figure-head.

Mr. Rowe tells me that the block was turned face down and left at Athribis near the spot in which it was found. It would be important if an attempt could be made to discover whether it still exists. The block raises many problems and questions concerning Amarna and Amarna chronology that it would be premature to discuss here, and this note is designed mainly to lay a most surprising document before one's colleagues.



## SOME PRE-AMĀRNAH SUN-HYMNS

By H. M. STEWART

ALTHOUGH the antecedents of certain features of the 'Amārnah hymns have often been pointed out in the older sun-hymns,<sup>1</sup> no general study of the latter has yet been published. It is hoped that the following brief account will remedy this to some extent and put the relationship into better perspective.<sup>2</sup>

On comparing later sun-hymns in funerary papyri of the New Kingdom, Naville noted the lack of a standard canonical text.<sup>3</sup> Yet it can hardly be doubted that the many parallels to certain passages in both these and the earlier hymns must have had a common origin, and it seems probable that this was in many cases the temple liturgy. Indeed, several copies of the Book of the Dead from the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards<sup>4</sup> contain, more or less complete, a sun-hymn from the Theban liturgy of Amen-Rē<sup>5</sup> as preserved in Berlin Papyrus 3055 (Twenty-second Dynasty).<sup>5</sup> There is reason to suppose, then, that where parallels occur, the source was either a liturgical text or a popular literary pastiche. Suggestions of both appear in the examples discussed below.

Hymns in funerary inscriptions may often be more accurately described as prayers, the purpose of the eulogy being to predispose the god to grant certain funerary requests. As expressed in one example: 'Thou art propitiated with fine words. If thy heart is content with what he [*sic*] says, then thou shalt cause my soul to live forever', etc.<sup>6</sup>

During the New Kingdom private individuals continued to some extent to entertain ideas of a hereafter in the bark of Rē<sup>7</sup>—a democratization of the royal destiny of the Old Kingdom—and in some spells the deceased even claimed identification with the sun-god<sup>8</sup> (among other deities). More normal, however, and more consistent with Osirian beliefs, was the modest wish to go forth from the Netherworld each morning to see the sun.<sup>9</sup> With the establishment of the idea of Rē's night-journey through the Netherworld, men hoped on either theory to be perpetually in his following.

No doubt this wish was related to certain developments which occurred in private funerary architecture during the Eighteenth Dynasty, and which furnish our chief sources for the study of solar hymns. The typical tomb-chapel of the New Kingdom

<sup>1</sup> See especially Wolf in *ZÄS* 59, 109 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The writer is grateful to Mr. R. O. Faulkner, with whom he read these texts, for several valuable suggestions.

<sup>3</sup> Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Einleitung, 120; variants of only two examples were given.

<sup>4</sup> Naville, *op. cit.*, Text, pl. 14; Shorter, *Catalogue of Religious Papyri in the British Museum*, 62, 72; Budge, *Greenfield Papyrus*, 24, pl. 29, and (if funerary) *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 1st series, pl. 33; 2nd series, 18 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, I: *Rituale für den Kultus des Amon*, pls. 19 f.; Moret, *Le Rituel du culte divin journalier*, 135 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Edwards, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum*, VIII, 52 f., pl. 44.

<sup>7</sup> *Book of the Dead*, chs. 129, 130, 134, 136, 140.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, chs. 17, 42.

<sup>9</sup> Hermann, *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie*, 109 ff.



consisted of a number of chambers arranged on an axis, which was, in theory at any rate, oriented east and west, the entrance facing the rising sun. The outer parts of the chapel, including the pyramidal superstructure, formed what was virtually a solar complex, distinguished in its scheme of decoration from the inner or Osirian parts of the tomb.<sup>1</sup> The thicknesses of the outer doorways during the early half of the Eighteenth Dynasty often showed the owner on both sides facing outwards and worshipping the sun-god.<sup>2</sup> Later it became customary to differentiate the two sides, showing on the left the deceased looking outwards and addressing a hymn to the rising sun, and on the right turned inwards, adoring the setting sun,<sup>3</sup> or, more commonly before the 'Amārnah period, simply re-entering the tomb.<sup>4</sup>

The growing popularity of sun-hymns throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty is shown both in the increasing extent of their distribution in the tomb and in their greater length. During the later part of this period they sometimes replaced what had previously been brief solar formulae on pyramidions,<sup>5</sup> cross-room stelae,<sup>6</sup> façade stelae,<sup>7</sup> the thicknesses of inner doorways,<sup>8</sup> etc.

The need to accommodate longer texts may be followed in the development of a type of funerary statuette represented, usually kneeling, with the arms raised in an attitude of worship.<sup>9</sup> Specimens from the early Eighteenth Dynasty have an address to the sun-god sometimes inscribed partly on a filling left between the forearms and partly on the body.<sup>10</sup> At the time of Tuthmosis III the filling in some examples extended to the knees, and resembled a small stela.<sup>11</sup> This soon developed into an actual stela, at first resting on the knees,<sup>12</sup> but later (*c.* Tuthmosis IV) larger and standing on the ground.<sup>13</sup> The emplacement of this type of statuette, which has never been found *in situ*, was probably a niche in the pyramid above the chapel,<sup>14</sup> where such objects appear to be shown in representations of tombs in murals, etc.<sup>15</sup>

The hymns from all these sources may be divided into three main categories according to whether they are addressed to the sun, rising, setting, or throughout his daily course.<sup>16</sup> The first two presumably related to the normal order of private worship, the third category having been perhaps a purely funerary one associated with representations of the deceased in perpetual adoration. That sunrise and sunset were the chief occasions seems to be indicated by the wish 'to adore Rē when he rises and to extol him when he goes to rest in life' expressed in some *hṯp-dī-nsw* prayers of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bruyère, *Deir el-Médineh* (1923-4), 7 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Theban tombs 53, 84, 109, 345; see Anthes in *ZÄS* 67, 4 f.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 48, 192.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 55, 74, 75, 181.

<sup>5</sup> A text from a specimen in Leyden is discussed below.

<sup>6</sup> Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 942 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Davies, *Tomb of Neferhotep*, 48 f., pl. 34.

<sup>8</sup> Davies, *Tomb of Ramose*, 37 f., pl. 39; Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, 46 f., pl. 52.

<sup>9</sup> Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III (La Statuaire), Text, 471 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art*, 54 (note on pl. 42).

<sup>11</sup> Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* (CCG), I, pl. 70.

<sup>12</sup> Vandier, *op. cit.*, pl. 160 (3) = Aldred, *op. cit.*, pl. 43.

<sup>13</sup> Davies, *Tomb of Nakht*, 36 ff., pl. 28.

<sup>14</sup> Bruyère, *op. cit.* 12 ff.; Hermann, *op. cit.* 20 f.

<sup>15</sup> Nina M. Davies in *JEA* 24, 25 ff.

<sup>16</sup> The existence at this period of a type of hymn to the sun at noon is more doubtful; cf. Sauneron in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 53, 71, n. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1519.



The main developments which occurred in sun-hymns before the 'Amārnah period were the elaboration of the concept of Amen-Rē as universal creator and its important side-effects, the new interest in nature and the emancipation of the liturgical style (even if only intermittently) from the enumeration of epithets, attributes, etc., which characterized hymns of the Middle Kingdom.

No doubt the universalist outlook was, as Breasted supposed, a result of imperial expansion.<sup>1</sup> The sun-god's benevolence towards his creatures had been described in earlier literature, but without necessarily referring to lands outside Egypt.<sup>2</sup> The earliest expression of the wider view is the well-known hymn to Amen-Rē in Bulaq Papyrus 17 (c. Amenophis II).<sup>3</sup> Although about a third of this text is paralleled, badly damaged, on a statue of the Second Intermediate Period,<sup>4</sup> the essentially universalist passages lie beyond the limits of the statue's inscription, and appear stylistically to be of later date. It is possible that the paralleled portion was originally a separate liturgical hymn, as may also have been the opening lines of the Bulaq text (lacking on the statue), which reappear as a short hymn in a later funerary papyrus.<sup>5</sup> The equally celebrated example on the stela of Suty and Hōr<sup>6</sup> (reign of Amenophis III) contains very little that had not already been expressed in the Bulaq Papyrus, but is a much better-integrated work, imbued with one pervasive idea almost to the complete exclusion of the older mythological allusions. Whether or not it was a literary composition, it was probably already a standard funerary text in the reign of Amenophis III,<sup>7</sup> and with some modification was included in a long composite redaction, which remained popular from the Nineteenth Dynasty until the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>8</sup>

Universalist ideas are, nevertheless, by no means strongly represented in pre-'Amārnah hymns, the few well-known cases being about all that can be found. By the time of Amenophis III several texts, which were to recur frequently in the Book of the Dead, were in common use. They are of no very evident literary merit, and may have owed their prestige to a liturgical origin. One very popular example, some pre-'Amārnah parallels to which are set out in fig. 1,<sup>9</sup> appears first on an altar found in the mortuary temple of Amenophis II (A), and was current even during the reign of Akhnaton (E), slightly modified, presumably to bring it into line with the new doctrine.<sup>10</sup> In the following translation the parallels A, B, C, and D are combined, evidence of continuity, where tenuous, being reinforced by a post-'Amārnah text (F).

<sup>1</sup> Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought*, 312 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Volten, *Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften (Analecta Aegyptiaca, IV)*, 73 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Grébaut, *Hymne à Ammon-Ra*; Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion*, 4 ff.; Möller in *ZÄS* 56, 38.

<sup>4</sup> Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire*, 157 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Shorter, *op. cit.* 58, 66 (No. 9988).

<sup>6</sup> Edwards, *op. cit.* 24 ff., pl. 21; Varille in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 41, 25 ff.; Roeder, *op. cit.* 9 ff.

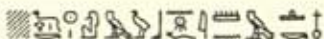
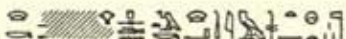

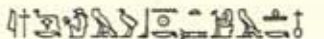
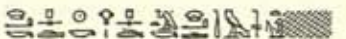
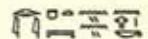

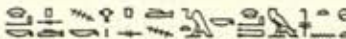
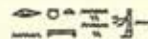

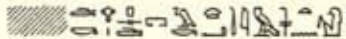

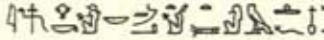
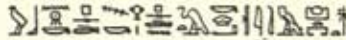
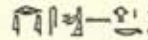
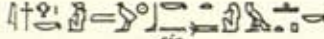
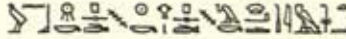
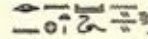
<sup>7</sup> Stewart in *JEA* 43, 3 ff.

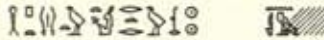
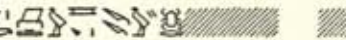
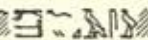
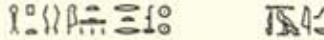

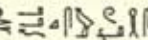
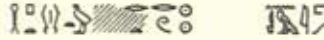

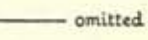

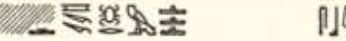

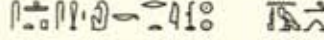

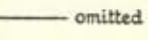

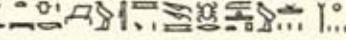
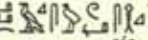
<sup>8</sup> Budge, *Book of the Dead* (1898), Text, 39 ff., and *Greenfield Papyrus*, pls. 5-7 (pls. 5 and 6 erroneously interchanged and misnumbered); Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, ch. 15 a-f.


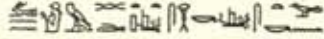
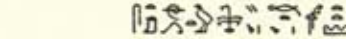


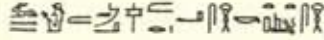
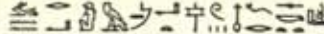
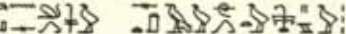
<sup>9</sup> For other parallels, partial or damaged, of the same period see Sāve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.* 46 f., pl. 52; Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors*, 27; Maspero in *Rec. trav.* 2, 163, n. 1.


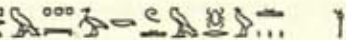
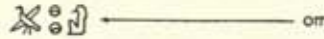
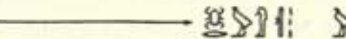
<sup>10</sup> The alterations, if intended to eliminate references to deities, are curiously inconsistent.



A     
 B     
 C     
 D     
 E     
 F   

A     
 B     
 C    omitted  
 D    (interpolation)  
 E    omitted  
 F   

A  remainder lost  
 C    
 D    
 E   
 F  

C    
 F  omitted 

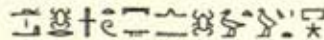
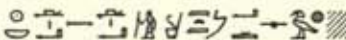
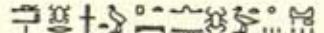
C    
 F 

FIG. 1. PARALLELS TO A PRE-AMÄRNAH HYMN.

- A. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, 20, pl. 1 (4).  
 B. Davies, *Tomb of Nakht*, 36 ff., pl. 28.  
 C. Leemans, *Monuments* (Leiden), III, pls. 1a, 2d; Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung* (Leiden), v, 1, sides 3, 2. (In both publications the sides of the pyramidion bearing the text appear in the wrong order). On the owner and date (Amenophis III) see Hayes in *JEA* 24, 9 ff.  
 D. Davies, *Tomb of Ramose*, 37, pl. 4.  
 E. Bissing in *ZAS* 64, 113 ff. (= Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhnaten*, 144).  
 F. Budge, *Book of the Dead: Papyrus of Ani* (1913), I, pl. 19, cols. 6 ff. (ch. 15).



Hail, O Rē,<sup>1</sup> when thou risest, Atum (var. Amūn), when thou settest beautifully. When thou appearest, thou shinest upon the back of thy mother,<sup>2</sup> thou having appeared as king of the Ennead.<sup>3</sup> Nut<sup>4</sup> does homage to thy face, and Ma'at embraces thee<sup>5</sup> at all times. Thou travellest the sky, thy heart glad, the lake of Deswy<sup>6</sup> having become at peace, the rebel<sup>7</sup> overthrown, his arms bound; knives have severed his vertebrae. Rē is with a good wind (var. in the day-barque); the night-bark has destroyed him who attacked it. The southerners, the northerners, the westerners, and the easterners tow thee, adoring thee, the primeval one, who came into existence by himself, the sovereign who rules what he created, who went forth from the abyss endowed with a form, who commands, and the earth is filled with silence, the unique one, who came into existence between heaven and earth, when the earth and the netherworld had not yet come into being. Men say daily to one another: He is indeed a prince, blessed. . . . His mother shines upon the earth, seeking [his] wish.

It may be noted that in all the copies except that on the Theban altar (A) the content is entirely solar without any trace of the cult of Amūn, while in the exception the name of this god has been substituted, rather less appropriately, for that of Atum as the setting sun—a fact which suggests that the text may have been adopted into the Theban cult from a purely solar liturgy.

The repulse, mentioned above, of Apophis from the solar bark is a very common theme in these hymns.<sup>8</sup> Already, during the Middle Kingdom, spells were included for this purpose in the Coffin Texts,<sup>9</sup> and may have been related to a temple ritual such as was practised in the Late Period.<sup>10</sup> As the following funerary claim from the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty shows, the deceased was supposed to serve the sun-god thus in the hereafter. 'I have caused the great bark to appear.<sup>11</sup> I have repelled the stroke of the serpent Nehaḥer [lit. Dangerous-of-face] in order that the sailing of the evening-barque might take place in the course of every day.'<sup>12</sup>

With a demand for longer texts we find increasing evidence of compilation,<sup>13</sup> sometimes involving stylistic discrepancies.<sup>14</sup> In the following example from the reign of Amenophis III<sup>15</sup> (fig. 2) several sources appear to have been used, part of col. 2 being

<sup>1</sup> In 'E' the epithet 'Lord of Truth' is added.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the sky-goddess Nut.

<sup>3</sup> 'E' has 'thou having appeared in the eastern horizon'.

<sup>4</sup> 'E' substitutes a pronoun, leaving the goddess un-named.

<sup>5</sup> 'E' has 'She propitiates thy Majesty . . . '.

<sup>6</sup> Probably the Oasis of Bahariyah, region of the setting sun; see Sethe in *ZÄS* 56, 50 f.; Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, 48. Cf., however, Sethe, *Amun*, 79 f.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. Apophis.

<sup>8</sup> This episode receives fuller treatment in the Book of Amduat and the Book of Gates. See also Jéquier in *Egyptian Religion*, 111, 18 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Lacau in *Rec. trav.* 30, 187 f., cf. de Buck, *Coffin Texts*, 11, 373 ff. (spell 160); Sethe *et al.* in *ZÄS* 59, 73 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Faulkner, *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* (*Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, 111, Brussels) and in *JEA* 23, 166 ff.; 24, 41 ff.; Allen in *JNES* 8, 352 with n. h.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 73 f.

<sup>12</sup> Winlock in *JEA* 6, 1 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Naville's classification of such hymns as unities might well be revised in terms of their component texts. The present writer hopes to attempt this in a later publication.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the hymn in Bulaq Papyrus 17, discussed above.

<sup>15</sup> Theban tomb of Khaemhet (57). The upper part only of the inscription was published by Loret in *Mém. Miss. arch. fr.* 1, 115, before the tomb had been cleared. The present hand-copy is based partly on M.M.A. photograph T 811, kindly supplied by the Griffith Institute, signs marked in Loret's copy, but since lost, being shown in thinner lines.

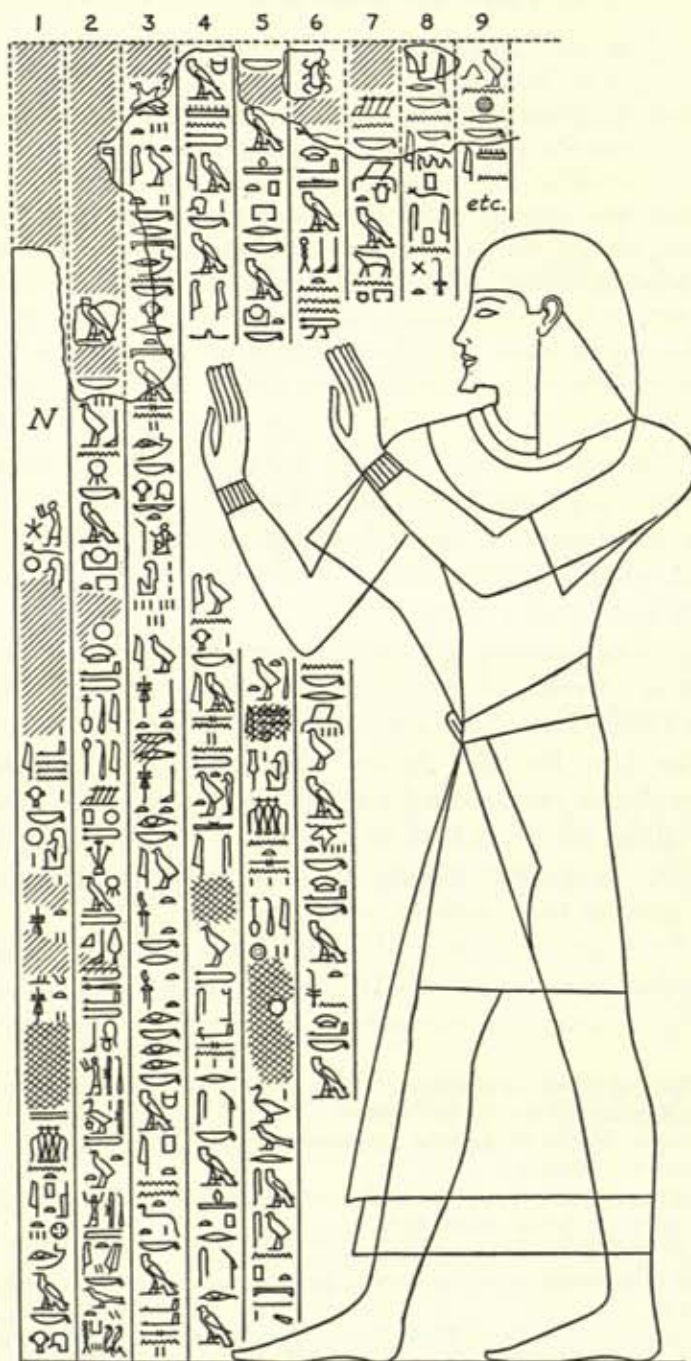


FIG. 2. HYMN FROM THE TOMB OF KHAEMHET.



paralleled in other contemporary hymns,<sup>1</sup> cols. 3 and 4 (part) being archaic in language and style, cols. 4 and 5 containing the start of a morning hymn of traditional type,<sup>2</sup> and cols. 7 and 8 a passage, evidently a liturgical quotation, which appears in a sun-hymn of the Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

N adores Rē. . . Satisfy thy heart,<sup>4</sup> O Rē, eastern [soul (?)], eastern [Horus, Amūn, Lord of the thrones of] the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak. Thou lookest upon (2) [the Nine Bows].<sup>5</sup> . . . Thou risest on the horizon [early (?)], shining, beautiful, white, light, beaming, bright, great, exalted, a spirit, complete, high with thy two plumes Great-of-Magic, (3) . . . Thy two plumes (reach) to the sky. Thou seest heaven by means of them,<sup>6</sup> and thou lookest upon the Nine Bows. Thy east is at thy left eye, and thy west is at thy right eye, these thy two eyes indeed belonging to thy body together with them, (4) they indeed being set in thy head like the two plumes, thy face being not void of them, for thou art [the god (?)] who dost lift them up.

Awake in peace! Awake, O Horus, (5) lord (?) of . . . in peace! Thou goest forth from thy horizon, thou being complete, Amen-Rē, the mighty one at their head, twice beautiful, . . ., great eldest son of heaven and earth, (6) who came into existence [by himself], appearing from the abyss. Thou hast seized all through awe of thee. Thou appearest as king, (when) thou appearest in (7) [the horizon (?)]. Thou receivest joy within (8) thy shrine, that serpent Nik (lit. the Condemned One) having been consigned to the flame.

An instance has already been given of the use of a traditional sun-hymn in the reign of Akhnaton. Specimens from the period before the king changed his name, while couched largely in the old style, and including standard texts, occasionally show unusual features. In one Theban tomb (192) the king is shown worshipping the sun-god, while the deceased follows his example in a sub-scene,<sup>7</sup> thus anticipating the normal 'Amārnah practice. Elsewhere in the same tomb a hymn, addressed to the setting sun, enlarges on the blessings brought by the sun-god to the dwellers in the Netherworld during his night-journey,<sup>8</sup> an aspect of the funerary cult which, as Davies pointed out, was conspicuously neglected during the 'Amārnah period.<sup>9</sup>

Extract (cols. 4-12):

Thou hast come in peace, the Two Lands having been reached. Thou hast joined the hands of Manu. Thy Majesty receives reverence, when thou art moored at thy temple of yesterday. . . . The spirits of the westerners drag thee on the road which is in the sacred land.<sup>10</sup> Thou lightest the face of those who belong to the Netherworld, thou hearest the call of those who are in the sarcophagus, thou raisest up those who are laid low, thou suppliest offerings to those who possess it

<sup>1</sup> *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum*, VII, pl. 42; Davies, *Tomb of Ramose*, pl. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem*, 15 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Budge, *Book of the Dead* (1898), Text, 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Ir hr* appears in rare cases to be equivalent to *ir ib*; see Gardiner, *op. cit.* 34. Possibly, however, the expression is to be taken literally: 'Thy face is washed', cf. *Pyr.* 1443a: 'The face of heaven is washed, the vault of heaven is bright.'

<sup>5</sup> Cf. col. 3.

<sup>6</sup> On the equation of the two plumes with the eyes of Horus see Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique*, 286 f.

<sup>7</sup> Davies in *JEA* 9, 135.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 134, pl. 27n; the full text published by Fakhry in *Ann. Serv.* 42, 462 f.

<sup>9</sup> References to the Netherworld (*Dit*) as the abode of the dead still occurred, however; see Davies, *El Amarna*, IV, pl. 39; VI, pl. 33 (= Sandman, *op. cit.* 58, 101).

<sup>10</sup> This passage is paralleled in a hymn of the previous reign; see Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.* 46, n. 2, pl. 50 B.

(i.e. the sarcophagus), thou rejuvenatest the nostrils of those who are in it. . . . They are warm when it comes to pass that thou art new in thy former shape. Thou hast come with the sun-disk, O power of heaven, endowed with the rule of [foreign lands (?)]. Thou distributest thy beauty in the Nether-world; thou shinest for those who are in darkness. Those who are in their coffins are joyful. They adore thee when thou reachest them with this thy face of the Wakeful One. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Contrary to what one might suppose from the study of a few well-known hymns of the pre-'Amārnah period, the contrast between the Aten specimens and their immediate precursors is on the whole very marked. The emphasis on universalist ideas is by no means comparable, and in matters of expression there are remarkably few literal parallels. While recognizing the Atenists' debt to the orthodox cult, one might stress the perception and imagination which found there such revolutionary potentialities.

<sup>1</sup> An epithet of Osiris, who was commonly assimilated to Rē<sup>6</sup>.



## NOTES ON PTOLEMAIC CHRONOLOGY

By T. C. SKEAT

## I. 'The Last Year which is also the First'

WITH the editor's permission, I hope to publish in this *Journal* some notes on points of Ptolemaic chronology which came to my attention during the compilation of my *Reigns of the Ptolemies*, originally published in *Mizraim*, 6 (1937), 7-40, and later revised and re-issued as Heft 39 of the *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, München, 1954.

In the first edition of this work (*Mizraim* 6, 8) I stated that the year in which a new ruler acceded to the throne of Egypt was commonly designated by a double numeration, in which the last year of the deceased ruler was coupled with the first of his successor; and I quoted as an example the Egyptian year 52-51 B.C., in which Ptolemy XII Auletes was succeeded by his daughter Cleopatra VII, and which is described in documents after the latter's accession as 'the thirtieth year which is also the first' (ἔτος ἃ τὸ καὶ ᾧ). This statement<sup>1</sup> has been called in question by W. Otto and H. Bengtson in their masterly study *Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches*, *Abh. Bayer. Akad., Phil.-hist. Abt.*, N.F. 17 (1938), notably on p. 25 n. 2, p. 94 n. 4, and p. 130, and for this reason I omitted the statement from the revised edition of *Reigns of the Ptolemies*, with a view to investigating the matter in a separate article.

Otto and Bengtson, as it appears to me, draw a sharp distinction between the retrospective (*nachträglich*) use of double numerations of this kind, which they freely accept, and their contemporary (*gleichzeitig*) use, which they reject as impossible. The only concrete arguments which they put forward to justify the drawing of this distinction are that in a contemporary dating (*a*) it would be peculiar (*seltsam*) to date the year both by the reigning ruler and his predecessor, and (*b*) that even if such a method had been practised, one would expect the year of the reigning ruler to be placed first, and not second.

It is not clear to me why a mere lapse of time should affect usage in such matters—why, that is, a practice which is declared to be quite impossible in a contemporary context should become unobjectionable when applied retrospectively. Nor can I see that we have the right to expect the Ptolemaic scribes to place the regnal year of the reigning sovereign first when all the evidence indicates that they did exactly the opposite. In these circumstances it may be useful to make a brief survey of the available evidence.

This evidence may be conveniently set out in tabular form. In the right-hand column I have added, after the reference, the date in which the document was written in all those cases where the dating is retrospective. I have made no attempt to ensure that the

<sup>1</sup> Also made by Grenfell and Hunt in P.Hib. 1, 360.



list is absolutely complete, and no doubt it can and will be enlarged and improved; but I think the evidence which it provides will be seen to be adequate for the present purpose. So far as I know, no list of this kind has been previously compiled.

<i>Egyptian year</i>	<i>Form of dating</i>	<i>References (contemporary except where otherwise noted)</i>
222-221 B.C.	Year 26 = 1	P.Petr. II 2 (1) = P.Lond. 505 = W. <i>Chrest.</i> 337 <sup>1</sup> . P.Petr. III, 119, verso II, 9 (? written later) P.Lond. 610 (written c. 165 B.C.)
181-180 B.C.	Year 25 = 1	P.Teb. 72, 111 (written 114-113 B.C.)
170-169 B.C.	Year 12 = 1	Inscription in Mond and Myers, <i>The Bucheum</i> , p. 7, no. 9.
146-145 B.C.	Year 36 = 25	P.Teb. 61 (b), 149 (written 118-117 B.C.) P.Louvre = UPZ II, 224, III, 15 BGU 1448. O.Tait Bodl. 368
132-131 B.C.	Year 39 = 1 <sup>2</sup>	P.Teb. 64 (a), 14
131-130 B.C.	Year 2 = 40 <sup>2</sup>	P.Teb. 72, 185 (written 114-113 B.C.) P.Teb. 791, 11
116-115 B.C.	Year 54 = 1	P.Reinach II, 9 (written 111 B.C.) P.dem.Strassb. 8
88-87 B.C.	Year 27 = 30	BGU 1806, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1832. <i>Aegyptus</i> 13, 612
52-51 B.C.	Year 30 = 1	W. <i>Ostr.</i> 109
A.D. 116-17	Year 20 = 1	W. <i>Ostr.</i> 586, 587
A.D. 137-8	Year 22 = 1	P.Oxy. 98, 13 (written A.D. 142)
A.D. 174-5	Year 15 = 1 <sup>3</sup>	Kenyon, <i>Archiv.</i> 6, 213

It is remarkable that so few examples from the Roman period beyond those for 116-17 and 137-8, all quoted by Wilcken, *Ostr.* I, 786, have come to light. We do, indeed, find in P.Oxy. 1208, 11 the expression τῷ βL Κλαυδίου ὁ ἐγέ[νετο] αL Αὐρηλιανοῦ, but this seems to me rather a different matter.

Of the examples in the foregoing table Otto and Bengtson do not discuss those for 222-221, 181-180, or 170-169, nor, of course, those of Roman date. Those for 146-145 and 116-115 they dismiss *en bloc* as *nachträglich*. That for 88-87 they explain as due to the uncertainty of the local scribe in the confusion before the restoration of Ptolemy Soter II, and they refute the inference that by the time the papyrus was written the death of Ptolemy Alexander had already occurred. But it is in regard to the datings for 52-51 that Otto and Bengtson make their most startling suggestion, namely, that in the last year of his reign Ptolemy XII Auletes associated his children Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIII with him on the throne, and that it is to this joint régime that the 'Year 1' refers.

This hypothesis seems to me, to say the least, highly improbable. There is no direct literary or historical evidence of any kind for such a joint reign; indeed, the descriptions of Auletes' testament, in which he bequeathed his kingdom to the joint rule of his two elder children, and called upon the Roman Senate to ensure their succession to the throne (*Bellum Civile*, III, 108; *Bellum Alexandrinum*, 33) give the decided impression that the children succeeded to the throne in the normal way on the death of their father.

<sup>1</sup> The correct reading of the papyrus, as deciphered by Edgar, is ἐν τῷ κςL, ὁ δὲ [κ]αὶ [ᾱ] [πρῶ]τόν ἐστιν.

<sup>2</sup> These dates refer to the civil war in 131-130 B.C., in which Cleopatra II temporarily expelled Euergetes II and set herself up as an independent ruler.

<sup>3</sup> The 'Year 1' refers to the usurper Avidius Cassius; it will be recalled that he assumed the purple on a (false) report of the death of Marcus, to whom he thus appeared, initially, as successor and not rival (Rémondon, *Chron. d'Ég.* 26 (1951), 364-77).



But there are much more serious and positive objections than this. Most of the datings 'Year 30 = 1' are in fact *later* than the date of an inscription from the Bucheum (*The Bucheum*, II, 12) which is dated simply Year 1, Phamenoth 19 (= 22 March 51), and which seems, from the unusual prominence accorded to Cleopatra (on which see W. W. Tarn, *JRS* 26, 187-9) and the omission of Auletes' own regnal year, virtually to prove that by this date Auletes was already dead; and if he was dead, the *Mitregentschaft* which is proposed in order to account for the double dating must have come to an end. Moreover, one of the double datings (BGU 1827) comes so late in the year that it is even posterior to the date (30 June 51) on which Caelius wrote (from Rome) to Cicero, announcing the demise of Auletes.

Otto and Bengtson themselves appear to be conscious of the fact that at the date of the only example they quote of the dating Year 30 = 1 (BGU 1827, of 14 Epeiph = 15 July 51) Auletes was already dead; and yet the only dating which could prove the existence of the co-regency would be a dating Year 30 = 1 *during the lifetime of Auletes*. No such dating has come to light, and, indeed, of all the 'contemporary' datings in the above table, not one can be shown to have been written before the death of Auletes.<sup>1</sup>

If, on the other hand, we accept the dual numeration as reflecting the change of régime from a deceased (or supplanted) sovereign to his successor, everything falls into place, and we are no longer forced to make an artificial distinction between 'contemporary' and 'retrospective' occurrences of the dating. I therefore still feel that my original statement of the position is the correct one.

Finally, we may briefly consider possible reasons which may have led to this form of dating. In the earlier Ptolemaic period the year in which a change of ruler occurred was usually known by the regnal year of the *deceased* ruler. In accounts, for instance (e.g. PSI 583) one finds Year 39 of Philadelphus followed by Year 2 of Euergetes; similarly in P.Petr. III, 112, *passim*, Year 26 (of Euergetes) is followed by Year 2 (of Philopator). Occasionally, however, the reverse practice is adopted, and the whole year is designated Year 1 (of the new ruler); for examples cf. Frank, *Archiv*, II, 42 and P.Hib. 265. The same diversity of practice can still be traced in 181-180 B.C., in which Epiphanes died: in his introduction to P.Teb. 854, Edgar notes that this year is called 'Year 1' in P.Teb. 854 but 'Year 25' in P.Teb. 851 and 852; he adds 'the full formula was no doubt  $\kappa\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\ (\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma)$ ', and this is confirmed by the reference quoted in the table above from P.Lond. 610. In P.Mich. III, 200 the same alternation between Year 1 and Year 25 occurs within the limits of a single document.

Such diversity of nomenclature must have been occasionally confusing, especially when records going back over a long period were being consulted, as happened in the offices of the land survey; and I think it is likely that it was in such offices that the practice arose of giving these years a dual numeration. The practice, however, remained

<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, even if Auletes had elevated his children to the throne during his lifetime this would not, according to Ptolemaic practice, have necessitated a double numeration of regnal years. Four earlier rulers, Soter, Philadelphus, Philopator, and Philometor, had each in turn associated a son with him on the throne, but in no case did this cause any alteration in dating, and the father's regnal years continued without alteration or addition.

haphazard and sporadic, and we may assume that it was never officially enforced. This very irregularity does, indeed, provide one final argument against the hypothesis of Otto and Bengtson: had there been a real *Mitregentschaft* of Auletes and his children, such as they postulate, it is reasonable to expect that the dual enumeration would have been officially prescribed and employed on every occasion, as in the joint reigns of Cleopatra III with Ptolemy Alexander, or of Berenice IV with Archelaus.

I have intentionally omitted from this note any discussion of the controversial date of 145 B.C., Year 36 = 1, occurring in a single inscription and on a coin from Paphos (Otto, *Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers*, *Abh. Bayer. Akad., Phil.-hist. Abt.*, N.F. 11 (1934), pp. 128-9). In *Mizraim* 6, 34, I had suggested that this was another example of the type of dating considered in the present article, Year 36 referring to Ptolemy VI Philometor, and Year 1 to his son and successor, Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator. If so, Philometor must have been dead by the date given in the inscription, viz. 28 Epeiph = 21 August 145. On reflection, however, I think it improbable that a date of this kind would have been placed on a coin, and that the year 1 therefore either refers to a joint rule of father and son or (which Otto thinks less likely) marks a new era commemorating the transient Ptolemaic domination of Syria.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

## GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1959)

By P. M. FRASER

## I. Bibliography

- (1) A survey of Greek epigraphy by J. and L. ROBERT appeared in the period covered by this bibliography: *REG* 72, 149-283. I refer to this where necessary as 'J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1959'.
- (2) My own survey of the year 1958 appeared in *JEA* 45, 88-97.
- (3) A bibliography of the writings of the late F. FREIHERR VON BISSING appeared in *ZAS* 84, 1-16.

## II. New Texts

(4) In *PP* 65, 142, E. BRESCIANI publishes a bronze weight from Egypt dated by the eighth year of Domitian and the prefecture of Mettius Rufus, bearing the official weight of 12 staters (i.e. 24 *unci*). It is inscribed (a) on the four sides, and (b) on top and bottom: (a) [L δ]γδού | αὐτοκράτορος | Καίσαρος | Δο-  
μ[ι]ανού; (b) [Σε]βαστοῦ [Γ]ερμανικοῦ, ὁλκή στατήρων δέκα δύνω | ἐπὶ Μετ[τίου] 'Ρούφου ἐπάρχου  
Αἰγύπτου. Its present weight is 159 gr.: cf. *JEA* 44, 108, no. (4), for a similar weight.

(5) In *JEA* 45, 79-80, 'An agonistic dedication from Egypt', P. M. FRASER publishes a wooden plaque shaped like a mummy-ticket, bearing a dedication of Imperial date, by an ἐπὶ καὶ μελῶν ποιητής, M. Decrius Decrianus, victor in the '51st sacred, trieteric festival'. Its provenance is unknown.

(6) In *Hermopolis 1929-1939* (Hildesheim, 1959), G. ROEDER gives a final report of the excavations, which, however, does not repeat the material already published in the preliminary reports, *Mitt. Arch. Inst. Kairo*, 2-9. Greek inscriptions previously known from the site are listed by P. HERRMANN (see below, no. (11)), who also publishes three hitherto unpublished inscriptions: (1), 133, no. e, the left-hand bottom corner of a plaque of Roman date containing the letters A - - - | οικω - - - | καὶ Μα - - -. (2), *ibid.*, no. h, the lower part of a stele with list of names and patronymics (22 lines): the names are purely Greek, and the lettering appears to be of the second or first century B.C.; there is no indication of the nature of the list. (3), *ibid.*, no. i, a fragment of an architraval inscription [- - - Αὐτ]οκράτορος | [- - - Κ]λαυδίου | - - - ιν. .ιη (cf. also *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 33, 267-72, where the author gives a brief survey of the site and the excavations).

(7) The selection of Egyptian objects from Russian museums published as *Pamyatniki Iskusstva drevnevo Egypta v Museyach Sovetskogo Soyuza* (1958) includes a textile (unpublished?) in the Hermitage bearing a very lively bust of the personified Nile with cornucopiae, with the inscription ΝΕΙΛΟC.

## III. Studies of previously published inscriptions

(8) In *Rev. int. des droits de l'ant.* 3<sup>e</sup> sér., 6, 179-207, 'Le Jardin de Mousa', F. DE VISSCHER republishes with a lengthy commentary the inscription published by P. M. FRASER and J. B. NICHOLAS, *JRS* 48, 117-29 (cf. *JEA* 45, 88, no. (8)). The main substance of this article, in which the author maintains that the law applied is predominantly Egyptian, and not Roman, the editors hope to discuss elsewhere. Meanwhile I may note his suggestion (182), that in the short but difficult lacuna in l. 11, ὅντι καὶ [. . . . . ε]πέδωκεν, we should supply ὡ[ραίω] ε]πέδωκεν, to which he gives the meaning, 'là à propos'. ὡραῖος, however, does not seem to be attested in this sense: it appears always to retain its etymological connexion with ὥρα, and when used in its transferred sense to mean 'seasonable' or 'ready for'.

(9) In *Bull.* 1959, no. (498), J. and L. Robert discuss the same inscription. Here too I restrict myself to a strictly epigraphical point, but one which affects the interpretation of the whole text. The Roberts propose to identify the καρπιστής of l. 7, regarding whose role and identity some mystery exists, and whose name the original editors ultimately read as [. . . Οὐ]μμιδίου 'Ρούφου, with the Μάνιος Μούμμιος 'Ρούφος κληρονόμος of ll. 20-21: 'Il nous paraît évident qu'il faut restituer [Μανίου Μου]μμ[ε]ίου 'Ρούφου et que le personnage qui intente l'action judiciaire est le même qui fait graver la note finale de l'inscription'. In fact, difficulties



of sense apart—why, for instance, should the testamentary heir describe himself as *καρπιστής*?—the original commentary contains an elaborate palaeographical note (123, 28a) the purpose of which was precisely to forestall this erroneous conclusion (cf. also de Visscher, no. (8), above, 199–200). The difficulty of the *καρπιστής* cannot be solved by such violent methods.

(10) In *Bull. Soc. franç. d'Égyptol.* 27, 65–73, 'Recherches d'épigraphie grecque à Abou Simbel (Nubie)', A. BERNARD deals in a more popular form with the conclusions reached in his collation of the Abu-Simbel inscriptions (*RÉG* 70, 1–46; cf. *JEA* 44, 108–9, no. (9)). He discusses briefly (68–71) the 'Record of Anaxana' (cf. *RÉG*, loc. cit. 10–15; *JEA*, loc. cit.), the new inscriptions (71–72), and some of his corrections of earlier versions (72–73).

(11) In G. ROEDER's *Hermopolis 1929–1939* (cf. above, no. (6)) P. HERRMANN lists (133–4, § 44) the previously known epigraphical material from the site: (a) *IGRR* 1, 1145; (b) *OGIS* 182; (c) Breccia, *Iscriz.* 44a; (d) Zucker, *Doppelinschrift* (SB 8066); (f) (with text) Klaffenbach, *Studies D. M. Robinson*, 11, 290–3 (*SEG* XII, 559); (k) *JEA* 38, 121, no. (28) (my remarks on the possibility of dating this inscription are quoted from a letter to Roeder on 285–6); (l) *SB* 7309; (m) *SEG* VIII, 620; (n) graffiti from the tomb of Petosiris, *SB* 303–8; (o) ditto from other graves at Tuna-el-Gebel, *ibid.* 7540–9; (p) epigram, *ibid.* 7841. § 45 contains the inscriptions of 31 stamped amphora-handles (mostly Rhodian).

#### IV. Religion

(12) In *Opusc. Arch.* 3, 1–54, P. M. FRASER publishes 'Two studies on the cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic world'. In this article (the publication of which has been unexpectedly retarded; cf. already *JEA* 43, 109 (54)) F. studies two main topics (a) to whom and at what period the cult of Sarapis made particular appeal in Egypt, and (b) the spread of the cult outside Egypt (see below, no. (45)). In regard to (a) he concludes that the cult in Egypt 'owes its main, if limited popularity to the example and initiative of the royal house', and that in the second century the Ptolemies lost interest in it. He discusses in detail the evidence of inscriptions and papyri, and reprints as an appendix (50–54) thirteen of the more important documents concerned with the cult.

(13) In *Aegyptus*, 38, 203–9, 'A proposito di Neotera', L. MORETTI discusses a title which has received considerable treatment in recent years (see *JEA* 41, 137, no. (26); 42, 109, no. (20)). He brings to the discussion two pieces of evidence hitherto ignored: (a) a dedication of A.D. 241–4 from a syncretistic cult-centre near Rome (*NS*, 1935, 98 = *AE*, 1935, 128), *Διὶ Βροντῶντι τὴν προτομήν | τῆς ἀνεικῆτος | νεωτέρας | Αὐρή(λιος) Λάμπων | σὺν τῇ μητρὶ*, and (b) *SEG* xv, 546, from Chios, which, he says, may be read either as *[Δ]ωρὶς Ἀφροδε[ίτη] | Νεωτέρᾳ* (so Forrest in *SEG*), or as *[Δ]ωρὶς Ἀφροδε[ίτη] | καὶ Νεωτέρᾳ* or *[Δ]ωρὶς Ἀφροδε[ίτη] | θεᾷ Νεωτέρᾳ*. Mr. Forrest tells me that there is very little chance of the second or third suggestions being correct, since a parallel text exists which virtually guarantees the first restoration. M. maintains that the total evidence shows that Neotera must be regarded as an independent deity associated with Aphrodite, Sarapis, Isis, etc., and suggests (following an old conjecture of Abel) that the deity is Nephthys, whom Plutarch (*De Isid. et Osir.* 355f = Hopfner, *Fontes*, 225) says was born one day after Isis. He does not attach much importance to Nock's previously expressed objection to this interpretation (*Aegyptus*, 33, 292–3) that Nephthys is not known outside Egypt (except Attica, *IG*² ii, 1367), and obscurely attested even inside that country.

(14) In *RA*, 1959 (1), 221 ff., à propos of a silver sea-shell in the 'Trésor de Graincourt-lès-Havrincourt (*Mém. Comm. dép. monum. hist. du Pas-de-Calais*, ix², 1958 (*non vidi*)), CH. PICARD studies the Alexandrian origins of the sea-shell as a decorative motif, and in this connexion refers to the funerary chamber of Isidora at Tuna-el-Gebel so decorated, with the epigram (*SEG* VIII, 473/4; Peek, 1897) referring to the fashioning of the sea-shell by the nymphs on the model of those existing in the depths of the sea.

(15) In *Hermes*, 87, 304–9, I. OPELT writes on 'Thermouthis als Todbringerin', in connexion with a passage in the *Etym. Gud.* (Reitzenstein, *Gesch. d. gr. Etym.*, p. 160, 18), deriving from a Seleucus, in which Thermouthis (apparently) is described as *ψυχροποιός*. She maintains that this epithet derives from the ancient Egyptian identification of Thermouthis as a snake-deity, bringing both prosperity and death, which preceded the Hellenistic identification of Thermouthis-Isis known from the hymns of Isidorus (*SEG* VIII, 548–51), and which is known from Pharaonic statues as well as from a passage of Aelian (*NA* x, 31 = Hopfner, *Fontes*, 421) which refers to a type of snake known as Thermouthis. Thus the cold which Thermouthis



brings is death. The basis of this discussion, the passage of the *Etym. Gud.*, is so vague and corrupt that it would be unwise to lay very much confidence on this reconstruction.

(16) The recent volume of *RE* XXII, 2 contains articles by H. VOLKMANN (cols. 1578–90) on the festival of the Ptolemaia at Alexandria, Athens, Delos, and other cities of less importance. In respect of the Alexandrian Ptolemaia he accepts the date 279/8 for the foundation of the festival on the basis of the Nesiotic acceptance of the invitation to attend, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 390, and also accepts the same date, as given by me, for the Amphictyonic decree, *BCH* 78, 49 ff., though this date has been shown to be unlikely for that decree (see provisionally, *JEA* 45, 96, no. (44)). He regards the πεντετηρίς of PMich.Zen. 46, PRyl. 562 (quoted by V. as 'SB 7645') and the Callixeinos-Pompe, as referring to the Ptolemaia, which he considers the only πεντετηρίς held at the Ptolemaic court. However, as I pointed out, *BCH*, loc. cit. 58, n. o, Athenaeus clearly indicates the existence of more than one πεντετηρίς: τὰς τῶν πεντετηρίδων γραφὰς λαμβάνων ἐπισκοπεῖτω (197D), and the connexion of the Pompe with the Ptolemaia is conjectural (V. dates the Ptolemaia—as he regards it—of the Pompe to 271/0, and states that Philadelphus took that opportunity provided by the celebration to introduce the worship of himself and Arsinoe into the state-cult; but, as he himself notes by way of addendum elsewhere (col. 1660, s.v. Philadelphus), we now know that this cult was introduced in 272/1 (PHib. 199), while the date 271/0 for the Pompe is no more probable than 279/8 or 275/4: see *BCH*, loc. cit.). Much of this part of the article is taken up with a description of the Pompe itself, which seems unfortunate in view of the uncertainty of its bearing upon the Ptolemaia. V. gives a list of the alleged evidence for subsequent celebrations of the Ptolemaia, but the connexion is far from established in some cases (e.g. *SB* 7263 (wrongfully given by V. as 'SB 6831'); the Hadra Vases), though V. refers to them collectively as *nachweisbare*. The part of the article dealing with the Alexandrian Ptolemaia cannot therefore be regarded as a reliable guide. In regard to the Athenian Ptolemaia V. also fails to satisfy. Thus he gives no indication of Meritt's republication (*Hesp.* 13, 251 ff.) of Robert's republication (*Étud. épigr. et phil.* 62 ff., no. 10) of *Hesp.* 6, 448, no. 3. Again, more serious, his view that the Ptolemaia were not celebrated from c. 135 to 104/3, based on the fact that in numerous decrees of that period the publication-formula establishes only that they shall be published at the Dionysia, Panathenaia, and Eleusinia, is immediately refuted by the honours accorded to the ephebes of the year of Dionysius, 128/7, united in a single inscription by Reinmuth, *Hesp.* 24, 220–39 (*SEG* xv, 104), I, l. 37, II, ll. 96–97, where the Ptolemaia appear alongside the three other festivals. The Delian Ptolemaia, liberally attested by the *tabulae hieropoeorum*, are fairly familiar ground and V. (cols. 1586–9) is less misleading here, though obscure in places. The remaining cities known to have had Ptolemaia are mostly single instances which call for little comment, though the inclusion of Kos, for which he quotes *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1028, ll. 12–14 [Πο]μπή [βασι]λεῖ [Πτολε]μαίωι, which is not necessarily part of a Ptolemaia, is misleading, and he does not make it clear that the festival recorded in *IG* XII, 2, 498 (*OGIS* 78) is a private festival belonging to the κοινὸν τῶν Πρωτέων. V.'s closely associated series of short articles on the cult-centres of the royal cult (Ptolemaion, cols. 1590–1) is also inadequate: he lists Alexandria, Athens, Byzantion, Cyrene, Iasos, Paphos, Rhodes, and Rosetta (*SB* 1164), to which should be added at least Itanos (*Inscr. Cret.* III, 83, no. 4, ll. 7 ff.: ἱερὸν τέμενος ἰδρύσασθαι τὸν παράδεισον τὸν πρὸς τῇ πύλαι, κ.τ.λ. . .). It is disappointing to find that the whole series of articles on Ptolemaic matters (cf. also no. (23) below) is unreliable.

#### V. Political and Social History

(17) I may note, as of general interest, the article of E. BRESCIANI, *Stud. Class. e Orient.* 7, 132–88, 'La satrapia d'Egitto', which contains a detailed study of the administration and organization of Egypt during the Persian period, and a catalogue of epigraphical (hieroglyphic) and archaeological material.

(18) In *Dacia*, N.S. 2, 281–316, EM. CONDURACHI writes on 'La costituzione antoniana e la sua applicazione nell' impero romano'. This is an interesting contribution to this vexed subject, and although it is not especially concerned with Egypt is of general importance. C. seeks to interpret the measure of Caracalla (and especially PGiss. 40) in the light of surviving contemporary evidence from different parts of the Empire (particularly the Danubian lands). He shows that a great many persons within the Empire were evidently not in possession of Roman citizenship after 212 and claims that these were the members of rural communities (*civitates*) which he identifies with the δεδειτῆκιοι of the papyrus, whom he regards (*post alios*) not as individuals but as communities. He shows that Wilhelm's restoration of the crucial lacuna in PGiss. 40 [μ]ένοντος [οὐδενὸς ἐκτὸς τῶν πολιτευμ]άτων, does not correspond to the situation revealed by the study of



these epigraphical documents, and claiming as established (a) that members of these *civitates dedictiae* did not receive block-citizenship, and (b) that the distinction between the *coloniae*, *municipia*, and *civitates foederatae* was lost by the new block-citizenship, he proposes to read in the lacuna [μ]ένοντος [δ' οὐδενὸς γένους πολιτευμ]άτων χωρὶς τῶν [δε]δεικτικίων (where the δ' seems otiose). The case is well argued and convincing.

(19) I may note in passing, although almost no epigraphical evidence is involved, H. MERTEN's careful study *Les Services de l'état civil et le contrôle de la population à Oxyrhynchus au iii<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère* (Mém. Acad. roy. belge, classe de lettres, 53 (2)): note, on 107, his discussion of the phrase in *OGIS* 609, etc., l. 55, ἡ λεγομένη κατὰ σύνοψιν ἀπαίτησις.

(20) In *Riv. Stud. Orient.* 34, 1-25, H. DE MEULENAERE writes on 'Les stratèges indigènes du nome Tentyrite à la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque et au début de l'occupation romaine', with particular reference to the evidence of hieroglyphic inscriptions on the dorsal pillars of statues of functionaries. He gives (3) a list of the Egyptian evidence for the strategoi, and investigates possible identifications with strategoi known from Greek documents. He discusses (6-7) the statue-base from Edfu, *SB* 1560, 'Ιέρακα τὸν συγγενὴ καὶ στρατηγόν, and 2078, a Theban ostrakon of 5 B.C., 'Ιέρακι στρατηγῷ Διοπολίτου, in connexion with a possible identification of Hierax with a Pakhom (= dem. H'rgs = Gk. Hierax), the father of Pamenkhes a strategos of Edfu and Denderah. On the purely Greek side it should be noted that *SB* 1560 is much more likely to be Ptolemaic than Roman in view of the presence of the title συγγενής (cf. Meulenaere, 23 and n. 5). He also discusses (9, (n)) the trilingual stele, Spiegelberg, *Cairo Cat. Demot. Denkm.* III, 14-16 (Greek text, *SB* 7257), of 12 B.C., which contains a record of lands dedicated to Isis by Πτολεμαῖος Πανᾶτος ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων τοῦ Τεντυρίτου, a person known from several Egyptian texts, who also appears in two Greek graffiti (10 (q) and (r)) at Philae (*SB* 4098 and 8669). In this connexion he examines three hieroglyphic texts which describe the offices held by persons whose names are lost, but whose sacral functions are closely associated with Denderah, and resemble those of the family of Ptolemaios and Panas. On the basis of this material, and particularly of the sacral titles borne by these persons in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, he discusses the extent of the areas governed by the different strategoi of the region at this time, and their chronology. Both the chronology of the various persons involved, and the significance of their titles, with respect to their civil offices, seem to be too uncertain for these conclusions to be more than conjectural.

(21) In his posthumous *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Jewish Publ. Soc. of America, The Hebrew Univ. 1959), V. TCHERIKOWER has much to say about the Jews in Ptolemaic Egypt (Pt. II, 'Hellenistic Civilisation in the Diaspora') and notices the relevant epigraphical evidence, but no points call for comment (282 ff.). He also discusses the constitutional status of the Jews in Alexandria and elsewhere (296-332), as well as their cultural and economic life (333-77). Though the ground covered is very familiar, this work constitutes a very clear and unbiased guide in which full use is made of documentary evidence and major controversial issues are treated with skill and freshness.

(22) In his *Die Kleruchen im ptol. Ägypten bis um die Mitte des 2. Jahrh. v. Chr.* (Inaug.-Diss., Friedrich-Schiller-Univ. Jena (mimeogr.), F. UEBEL gives an extremely useful *Materialsammlung*. The work consists of a general introduction on various problems connected with the institution of cleruchy (see esp. xvi-xx, 'Zur Frage der Epigoni', a useful discussion of that category of Alexandrian citizen designated collectively as Ἀλεξανδρεῖς (τῆς ἐπιγονῆς) τῶν οὐπω ἐπηγμένων εἰς δῆμον τὸν . . .), followed by a list of cleruchs arranged according to nomes, with detailed notes in which points of both particular and general interest connected with individual entries are raised, followed by a few appendixes on special points. Thus the work is much more than a list and is an essential aid to the complicated problems of cleruch-tenure. It is to be regretted that the author did not add a subject index, since the many valuable observations are hard to find.

(23) The long-awaited articles on the Ptolemies in *RE* have appeared, from the pen of H. VOLKMANN (*RE* XXIII, 2, s.v. Ptolemaios, cols. 1600-1761, cf. above, no. (16) for the same author's article on Ptolemaia). They are skeletal narratives of events, with indications of the main controversial issues, and will be useful for quick reference. Unfortunately, though V. gives the main references for papyri and inscriptions, it is clear that he is not wholly familiar with the epigraphical evidence, for he omits some parts of it and confuses other parts; he quotes some inscriptions by outmoded editions and at times refers to one and the same inscription by different publications and under different dates, as if more than one inscription was involved. This unfamiliarity is particularly noticeable in respect of inscriptions from the Ptolemaic Empire. For



example, the references to the members of the Nesiotic League (cols. 1648, 1654), based on epigraphical material, are insufficient; the Theraean inscription of the reign of Philometor, *OGIS* 59, is referred once (col. 1677) incorrectly to the reign of Euergetes I (as originally dated by Hiller in *IG* XII, 3, and subsequently and erroneously, by Cl. Præaux, *L'Écon. Roy.* 467, whence, I suspect, V.), and once (1712) correctly, but with reference to a different publication, to that of Philometor; and the Cyrenaean decree with royal edict attached, *SEG* IX, 5, is treated on col. 1740 as if it had not been discussed before, whereas on 1738 it had already been utilized under another guise. One inevitably forms the impression that V. is more dependent on modern than on ancient sources. Nevertheless, for the most difficult period of the work, the studies of Otto and Otto and Bengtson have stood him in good stead, and the articles are therefore of use for quick reference.

The same volume contains also articles on a number of other Ptolemaioi, officials in Ptolemaic, and Roman Egypt.

(24) In *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.* 71, 281–6, H.G. PFLAUM discusses the inscription of Mauretania published *ibid.* 69, 137–50 (*AE*, 1958, 156), concerning an *archistator*, a legal post in the entourage of the Prefect of Egypt, occupied at one time by Lucian and described by him (*Apol.* 12). The same office is known from a Termessian inscription, *TAM* III, 52, in honour of Tiberius Claudius Agrippa, *γενόμενον ἀρχιστάτορα ἐπὶ Οὐ[α]λερίου Εὐδαίμονος ἐπαρχου Αἰγύπτου*.

(25) I may call attention to an interesting article by J. HAMATTA, *Acta Antiqua* (Budapest), 7, 336–409, 'Irano-Aramaica (zur Geschichte des frühhellenistischen Judentums in Ägypten)', in which he republishes an Aramaic papyrus from Upper Egypt, Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, no. 8, which he dates to c. 310 B.C. and in the light of which he attempts to establish the outlines of the economy of Egypt at that time. His conclusions support the view that the monopolistic system did not exist at that time. He also considers the significance of the papyrus for the history of Jewry in Egypt.

(26) In his article on 'The Anabolicae species', *Aegyptus*, 38, 184–98, R. MACMULLEN discusses (192–4) the occurrence of the term *ἀναβολικόν* in the edict of Tib. Iul. Alex. (*OGIS* 669, etc.), ll. 18–24, where he accepts the view, which is clearly correct, that the term simply refers to back payments, and has no connexion with the tax of that name.

## VI. Prosopography

(27) In *Aegyptus*, 38, 159–70, J. IJSEWIJN publishes some 'Observationes prosopographicae ad sacerdotes eponymos Lagidarum pertinentes'. He makes tentative (and not very probable) identifications of eponymous priests, etc., known only from demotic documents, with persons known in other contexts from Greek documents. The reading of the demotic names is mostly uncertain, and even if the particular name was given in Greek the identification would be only conjectural, so they must be taken with a grain of salt: see, for instance, his attempt (161–4) to establish that the name of the father of the eponym Theocles (shortly after 150 B.C.), whose demotic name appears as *HRGIS* or *3RTI 3S(?)* or *3LKIS*, is to be identified with the Coan Aglaos, of Durrbach, *Choix*, 92 (*Inscr. Delos*, 1517). On 165–70 he strives to establish a coherent stemma of the numerous persons named Chrysermus and their kin. In this connexion (169) he discusses *OGIS* 104, the honorand of which, Chrysermus, he tends to identify with the Alexandrian doctor of that name.

(28) In *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, 10, 159–70, P. MASSON discusses the Greek, Carian, and (allegedly) Egyptian names found in the Halicarnassian inscription of the fifth century B.C., *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 46. The alleged Egyptian names are (apart from a person named *Αἰγύπτιος Ἀρχαγόρα* in ll. 7–8) *Ερμαπης* and *Πιρωμος*, which M. shows are in fact Carian. In the context of the former he discusses an occurrence of *Ερμαπίων* in Egypt, Baillet, *Syringes*, 2076, [*Ερ*]μαπίων *Ἡπιόδωρον*.

(29) In *Historia*, 8, 165–73, W. PEREMANS and E. VAN'T DACK publish some 'Notes sur quelques prêtres éponymes d'Égypte ptolémaïque'. After what seems a rather lengthy introduction (165–9) on the difficulties of identifying homonyms and the method to be employed, they give (170–3) a list of eponymous priests and priestesses who can, they claim, be identified with homonyms occupying other important posts, or who are related to persons similarly placed. They suggest (171) that the patronymic of Antiochus of Aptara which appears in *Inscr. Cret.* I, 245 ff., no. (4), V, l. 39 (the list of Oluntian proxenoi including Ptolemaic functionaries, of the time of the Chremonidean War) as *ΗΤΙΔΑ*, and was emended by Wilhelm (not Wilcken!)



to [Φλ]τιδα, should be emended to [Κρα]τιδα, since, they claim, *Ἀντίοχος Κρατίδα* appears as eponymous priest in PPetr. III, 54a (1), ll. 2-4 and PSI 521, ll. 2-4. This correction is palaeographically very close to the reading of the stone, and commends itself on this account, but the support for *Κρατίδα* in the documents quoted is extremely tenuous: the eponymous priest Antiochus occurred first in PHib. 95, 2, with the patronymic . . . , which Hunt subsequently read (ap. Plaumann, *RE*, s.v. Hieris, col. 1448 (15)) as *Κεββα*. Vitelli found the same eponym in PSI 521, again with an illegible patronymic, which, however, he said was irreconcilable with *Κεββα* but 'ci sembra di poter leggere *Κρατίδα*', and he proposed to restore this name in PPetr. III, loc. cit., where the patronymic is entirely missing. It must be granted, then, that the evidence for *Κρατίδα* is very thin. On 168, in their quotation of OGIS 103, l. 1, for *θεοῖς* read *θεῶι*.

### VII. Lexicography

(30) The work of A. H. R. E. PAAP, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek papyri* (Papyrolog. Lugduno-Batav. 8 (1959)) is the first detailed survey of this field since Traube's *Nomina Sacra* in 1907. He notes (100 ff.) the uses of abbreviations and suspensions in inscriptions from Egypt, as follows: Lefebvre, *Rec. inscr. gr. chrét.* 20,  $\Theta = \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ ; *ibid.* 51 (given by P. as 'Bessarione, VII, (1900), p. 277'),  $\bar{\Theta} = \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ ; *ibid.* 48, 'Ιησοῦς in full against common practice; *ibid.* 18,  $X\rho = X\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ , i.e. suspension for the almost universal contraction  $X\varsigma$ ; *ibid.* 20,  $\nu = \nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ . It is unfortunate that P. did not include in his survey the very many Christian inscriptions from Egypt published since Lefebvre's *Recueil* (1907). Many of these show variations from the practice of papyri; in particular the contractive stroke is commonly omitted in *nomina sacra* (at least in earlier instances: contrast SB 6035 of A.D. 1181 and *ibid.* 7432 of A.D. 1080, in both of which they are used extensively) as in documentary contracts. This suggests that the stroke may originally have been a less integral part of the contraction than P. supposes. The use of *nomina sacra* in inscriptions both of Egypt and elsewhere deserves a study analogous to that of P.

### VIII. Geography

(31) I may note here, though it falls outside the scope of this survey, A. Grohmann's useful *Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung des frühmittelalterlichen Ägypten* (Wien. Denkschr. 77 (2)), which makes considerable use of Byzantine papyri as well as Arab sources.

(32) The recent volume of *RE* xxiii, 2 contains articles on the places named Ptolemais in Egypt and Nubia, notably (4) Ptolemais Hermiou, (7) Ptolemais Hormos, and (8) Ptolemais Theron. The first two, from the pen of W. Helck, are very insufficient; the third, by H. Treidler, unduly long.

### IX. The Ptolemaic Empire

(33) In *BCH* 82, 571-87, 'Épigramme de Cyrène en l'honneur du roi Magas', F. CHAMOUX publishes the epigram from Apollonia to which reference has been previously made (see *JEA* 42, 114, no. (45); 43, 108, no. (49)). The epigram, inscribed on the front face of a statue of Nike dedicated to Magas, reads:

[Ἀσπ]ίς 'Ενναλίῳ πρέπον ἄνθεμα καὶ φάλαρα ἵππων  
ποικίλα' τὰν Νίκαν δὲ ἀνθέμεν Εὐπόλεμος  
φατὶ Μάγαι βασιλῆι καλὸν γέρας, ὅφρα ὑπὸ ταῖδε  
σκῆπτρά τε καὶ λαοὺς καὶ πτολίεθρα σοῖ.

He leaves undecided the question whether the epigram refers to the only military operation in which we know that Magas was involved, that against Philadelphus (c. 279-274), or to an unknown expedition against native tribes. He claims that this is the only known instance of the dedication of *φάλαρα* (the decorative bosses on the armour of war-horses) and discusses the evidence for such ornaments. He regards the inscription as establishing a parallel between Ares (l. 1) and Magas, thus forming an explicit testimony to the divine status of Magas, emphasizes the sacred connotation of *σοῖ* (cf. Call., *Hymn. Dem.* 13 and other instances given by C., 579, note 6), and quotes in this connexion (580, with fig. 3) *SEG* ix, 112, the dedication by a priest of the cult of Magas. He claims, finally, Callimachean authorship for the piece, on account of metrical and linguistic similarities (585-7): cf. next item.

(34) In *Riv. Fil.* 87, 102, A. Rostagni rejects the Callimachean authorship of the epigram concerning Magas (no. (33), above), on chronological grounds, since if the victory commemorated is that of Magas over Philadelphus, which is dated 279-274, Callimachus was by that time already in Egypt, and consequently



not in a position to compose the epigram. Rostagni's point has, however, no force, for, as Chamoux stressed, it is quite uncertain whether the victory is that over Philadelphus. The only decisive point with regard to the dating is the description of Magas as king, and we do not know when he took this title; if as early as 283, Callimachus could be the author; if as late as 272, hardly (see *Berytus*, 12, 108, n. 4). For me the poem, though attractive and well-composed, wholly lacks the charm and, still more, the point almost invariably present in the epigrams of Callimachus.

(35) In *Berytus*, 12, 101-28, P. M. FRASER publishes some fragments of Ptolemaic inscriptions from Cyrene. 1 is a fragment of a decree relating to the establishment of a cult on behalf of Euergetes II and his two queens, which resembles the decree in *SEG* IX, 5; 2 is a fragment of an account of the *damiourgoi* which is of particular interest since Magas figures in it as priest of Apollo (I mentioned this document, *JEA* 43, 108, no. (49), last sentence); 3 is a dedication by a college of ephors; 4 a dedication in honour of Pelops, the son of Pelops, of the reign of Euergetes, and thus the earliest item known so far in the career of that official; 5-6 are dedications of statues of Ptolemaic officers; 7 a dedication by Stolos the Athenian, τῶν πρώτων φίλων, of a statue of Ptolemy Soter II, closely resembling the other dedication by Stolos in honour of the same king, already known, *SEG* IX, 62; 8-11 are fragmentary dedications of uncertain content. On 120-7 F. gives the result of his collation of *SEG* IX, 1, the Constitution of Ptolemy I for Cyrene, with detailed textual notes, and a text of ll. 47-73. On 127/8 he offers a new reading of *SEG* IX, 5, l. 37, where for the ἀγγείων of edd. he reads οντέων, and proposes [- γερ]οντέων.

(36) In *JEA* 44, 99-100, P. M. FRASER publishes the upper part of a Theraean decree honouring two Alexandrian φῶλοι of a King Ptolemy, whom he identifies as either Philopator or Epiphanes.

(37) In *Ath. Mitt.* 72, 153-274, CHR. HABICHT publishes with detailed and valuable commentaries the sixty-five early Hellenistic (321-260 B.C.) decrees of Samos found during the German excavations of the Heraeum, some of which have remained unpublished for half a century. They include fifteen documents (nos. 49-64) of the Ptolemaic period (287-197), though not all of these contain specific reference to the Ptolemies or their suzerainty. Particularly to be noted are: 56, a decree in honour of Aristolaos, the son of Ameinias, a Macedonian, described as στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Καρίας, who is known from Paus. 6, 17, 3, to have dedicated a statue of Philadelphus at Olympia; this is the first appearance of the title στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Καρίας; 59, a fragment containing the end of a letter of a Ptolemaic official to Samos, which contained a copy of a royal letter, followed by a decree of the Demos inspired by the letter, bestowing honours on Euergetes I; 64, a republication, with a new fragment consisting of the right half of the inscription, of the decree in honour of a doctor, originally published by Klaffenbach, *Ath. Mitt.* 51, 28 ff., no. 2. The date of this is now determined as the occasion of the expulsion of Philip V's troops from Samos between 201 and 197 B.C., thanks to ll. 26 ff., ἐν τε τῇ ἀποκαταστάσει τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὰ τοῦ βα[σιλέ]ως Πτολεμαίου πράγματα γινομένων τραυματιῶ[ν] πολλῶν κ.τ.λ. The same phrase also establishes that, contrary to Holleaux's opinion, Philip's capture of Samos involved a considerable military operation.

(38) In *JHS* 79, 94-131, 'Helenos, Governor of Cyprus', T. B. MITFORD studies in detail the career of another late Ptolemaic governor of the island, and in so doing publishes a number of new inscriptions, most of which are fragmentary but can be restored with some certainty, and gives improved versions of some previously known inscriptions. 1 is a dedication of a statue of an individual, whose name is lost, to Aphrodite Paphia by Helenos; 2 (*JHS* 9, 245, no. 81) is another dedication of a statue by Helenos, possibly of Theodoros (in both 1 and 2 Helenos is described as τῶν εἰσαγγελέων, the significance of which M. discusses on 108); 3, a dedication of a statue of Helenos and probably also of his wife and daughter, by the priests of Aphrodite-Paphia; this was previously republished by Mitford, *Opusc. Arch.* 1, 164, no. 30 (without identification of Helenos); 4, unpublished, a dedication (largely erased) by Helenos in honour of Ptolemy, son of Euergetes II and Cleopatra III; 5, unpublished, a dedication (largely erased) by the city of Salamis in honour of Helenos, described as τροφεὺς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, i.e. Ptolemy Alexander II; 6, unpublished, a dedication in honour of Helenos by a Cypriot guild of Dionysiac artists; 7 (*OGIS* 148), a dedication in honour of Helenos by the Cilician troops stationed on the island; 8 (*JHS* 9, 251, no. 109; *OGIS* 148, n. 2), another by the priests of Aphrodite Paphia; 9 (*JHS* 57, 35, no. 10), another, erased, by Simalos (?). On the basis of these inscriptions (and of PBrux. E. 7155, for which see pp. 95-96) M. reconstructs (104 ff.) the career of Helenos and his strategia in Cyprus, which he dates to 118-117 and 114-105. He also considers the reigns of the sons of Euergetes II in Cyprus after the death of Euergetes and in this connexion republishes,



10 (*Archiv*, 13, 33, no. 5), a dedicatory plaque in honour of Cleopatra III and Soter II, and, 11 (*JHS* 9, 247, no. 93), a statue-base dedicated to Ptolemy Alexander by two ἑπαρχοὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ἀποστόλων, naval officers (*praefecti classis*) whose functions Mitford discusses 123-4. In the course of this article M. investigates a good many topics of more general interest, in particular (107-8) the date of the establishment of the court-ranks called ὁμότιμοι τοῖς πρώτοις φίλοις and ἰσοτίμοι τοῖς συγγενέσι, maintaining that the former were established by Euergetes II towards the close of the civil war (125/4 B.C.), the latter possibly at the beginning of his reign (note that on 107, n. 41, the first inscription quoted should read not [τῶν ἰσοτίμων] τοῖς but [τῶν ἰσοτίμων τοῖς]). M.'s argument is extremely intricate throughout, and elaborated with characteristic attention to epigraphical detail, but at least one reader of Mitford's extremely condensed, and occasionally cryptic articles, would welcome more sign-posts.

#### X. Nubia, Ethiopia, etc.

(39) S. DONADONI's collection of translated texts, *La Religione dell' antico Egitto* (Bari, 1959) contains 583-4 an Italian translation of the *Dream of Mandulis* (*HTR* 44, 227 ff.).

(40) In *Kush*, 5, 49-58, J. DORESSE writes on 'Éthiopie et l'Arabie méridionale aux iii<sup>e</sup> et iv<sup>e</sup> siècles d'après les découvertes récentes' (ibid. 59-60, an English summary).

(41) In *Kush*, 5, 37 ff., 'Tanqasi and the Noba', L. P. KIRWAN discusses primarily the ceramic evidence for the fall of Meroe and the establishment of the Nobadae in the kingdom. He also discusses in this connexion the Ethiopic version of the Aezanas inscription and the Greek inscription of Silko (*OGIS* 201).

(42) In *Kush*, 6, 69-73, L. P. KIRWAN writes 'Comments on the origin and history of the Nobadae of Procopius' (*Hist.* 1, 19, 24-35). Procopius describes the Nobadae as having been introduced by Diocletian into Lower Nubia (from the First Cataract to Maharakkah) as settlers, so that they would no longer 'harm the country about the Oasis'. These Nobadae from Kharga were taken to be Berbers by Monneret de Villard, while others have regarded them as coming from Kordofan, i.e. Upper Nubia, to Kharga. Kirwan prefers the latter view. He mentions briefly (72) the Silko inscription.

(43) In *Kush*, 3, 82-85, 'The Fall of Meroe', P. L. SHINNIE discusses the chronology of that event on the basis of the Ethiopic inscription of Aezanas, *Misc. Acad. Berol.* 11, 2, 114 ff. (not 101-3, as Shinnie). He concludes that at the time of the inscription (c. A.D. 350), in which there is no mention of Meroe, the city was of no importance, and that the Nobadae were in possession of it. He suggests as the probable date of the fall of the kingdom A.D. 296, when Diocletian summoned the Nobadae to guard Lower Nubia (cf. no. (42) above).

(44) In *Ann. d'Éthiopie*, 2, 219-23, J. SCHWARTZ writes 'A propos du carré Sator chez les Éthiopiens'. He discusses first the formula Alfā, Lēwon, Qwanā, Ayār, found in a part of the Ethiopic tradition of *Revelation*, 4, and identified by R. P. de Jerphanion as a corruption of the Greek-Coptic anagrammatic formula, ἄλφα, λέων, φωνή, ἀνήρ, which also occurs as a graffito in Tuna-el-Gebel along with another anagrammatic formula, σῦκα, ὕδωρ, κωπή, Ἄρης (Perdrizet, in Sami Gabra, *Rapport sur les fouilles d' Hermoupolis Ouest*, 75), which in turn occurs as a graffito at Abydos (Perdrizet and Lefebvre, *Memnonion*, no. 456). He maintains that the ἄλφα-anagram penetrated Ethiopia along with [the famous formula] SATOR AREPO TENET OPERA ROTAS, since the two appear together in an Ethiopic prayer to the Virgin, the latter, in the form SĀDŌR, ARĀDOR, DĀNĀT, ADĒRĀ, RODĀS, representing the Five Nails of the Cross, the former representing the Apocalyptic animals. This Ethiopic Sator-formula is said to betray its Coptic origin in its vowel-changes, and the same formula, applied to the Five Nails, occurs in Coptic in a graffito on a tomb at Faras in Nubia, *Rec. Trav.* 20, 174. S. claims that the connexion between the two formulae is earlier than the establishment of their identification with the Five Nails and the four Animals, and seeks to find the link between the two in the interpretation of passages in *Ezekiel*. He thus sees the association of the two formulae 'in a syncretistic perspective inspired by Ezekiel'. This all seems highly speculative.

#### XI. The Egyptian Gods

(45) In *Opusc. Arch.* 3, 20-49 (cf. above, no. (12)) P. M. FRASER discusses the spread of the cult of the Egyptian gods outside Egypt in the Ptolemaic period. He strongly opposes the view that this dissemination was due to Ptolemaic propaganda, and concludes (49), 'The cult of Sarapis spread outside Egypt in the main through private action. . . . The cult was evidently no more popular in Ptolemaic possessions than



elsewhere, indeed rather the reverse. The situation in Cyprus and Cyrene (where the Egyptian Gods are barely attested) may well make one wonder whether there was not a resistance to the cult in Ptolemaic possessions, just because Sarapis symbolized Alexandria.'

(46) D. MORELLI's *Culti di Rodi* (*Stud. class. e orient.* 8) contains a repertorium of the cults of Rhodes (1-73) followed by a discussion. Among the Egyptian gods occur: Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων (1), both by itself and as the eponym of sacral κοινά, Ἀγαθοδαίμονισσαι, etc.; Isis (58), Sarapis (67/9). It is unfortunate that M., whose work dates from 1959, did not use *The Rhodian Peraea* by Fraser and Bean (O.U.P., 1954), since this contains a good deal of hitherto unpublished material relevant to Rhodian cults and cult-practice.

(47) In *Acta Antiqua* (Budapest), 7, 195-200, T. SZENTLÉLEKY reports on the excavations of the Iseum at Savaria in Pannonia, discovered in 1955.

(48) In *Rev. sc. relig.* 33, 343-59, 'La prière cultuelle dans la Grèce ancienne', E. des Places gives a summary of various prayers or hymns with a few notes. These include the aretalogies of Isis (351-4) from Cius and Cyrene.

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

### Was Osiris an ancient king subsequently deified?

It is well known that Sethe answered this question affirmatively, see his *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, p. 79, n. 3, together with his article on Heroes and Hero-gods in Hastings's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. In the former place Sethe stated that I most emphatically held the same conviction, and this has been reasserted quite recently in Kees's *Totenglauben*, 2nd ed. (1956), p. 147. Both scholars quote my review of Frazer in *JEA* 2, 121 ff., but if my present readers will re-read what I there wrote, they will see that I said nothing of the kind, and I must definitely repudiate holding such an opinion, which I regard as highly improbable. The origin of Osiris remains for me an insoluble mystery. As regards his later status, somewhere or other I ventured to describe him as a 'personification of dead kingship', a description which still seems to me very nearly to fill the bill.

ALAN H. GARDINER

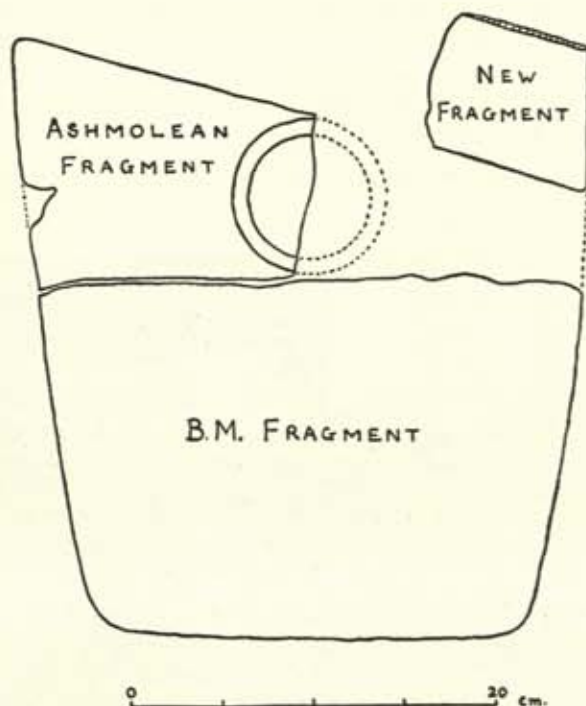
### A new fragment of the battlefield palette

A SMALL fragment of a 'slate' palette with relief decoration, said to come from Abydos and now in a private collection, has recently been published by H. W. Müller (*ZÄS* 84, 68-70, and pl. III). The fragment belongs to the edge of a palette of which it preserves a section 7.9 cm. in length; its lower edge is a straight sloping break, and its upper edge apparently a sawn cut. On one side is the head of a bird, possibly a species of guinea-fowl, and the lower edge of an unidentified object; on the other a wolf or jackal trampling on a prostrate foe, with part of what is probably a hieroglyph above. Müller seems to regard the new discovery as part of an otherwise unknown palette, but one closely associated with the famous 'Battlefield' palette, of which a larger fragment is in the British Museum and a smaller in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; cf. Petrie, *Ceremonial Slate Palettes*, pls. D, E.

The similarity in motif and execution is indeed striking, and could scarcely be coincidental. The head of the bird and the curious object above are the exact counterparts of those on the reverse of the Ashmolean fragment, while the contorted fallen figure, with arms evidently bound, may be compared with one on the right of the British Museum piece (obv.) and another partly visible along the upper edge of the Ashmolean fragment (obv.). Moreover, as far as can be judged from the photographs, the treatment of detail is identical. One may, for example, notice the eye, beak, and nostril of the fowl, and the method of indicating the calf-muscle, ankle-bone, and circumcision of the human figures.

Impressed by these remarkable similarities I made a cut-out model, the actual size of the new fragment, for comparison with the Ashmolean fragment and a cast of the British Museum piece. The result was conclusive. When the pieces were placed so that the heads of the two birds on the obverse were at a level, and equidistant from the centre of the palm tree, not only did the outer edge of the new fragment align to that of the British Museum piece, but its slanting broken lower edge fell in a straight line with the slanting broken upper edge of the Ashmolean fragment, and was clearly a continuation of the same break. The relative positions of the three fragments are indicated in the accompanying outline-drawing.





The addition of the new piece makes possible a tentative reconstruction of the palette, or rather of its lower portion. The balance of the design on the reverse is now confirmed: a palm-tree was flanked by two gerenuks, above which were two identical birds. Exactly what was above the birds cannot be deduced, though it is possible that a single object, of which only the two ends are preserved, filled the whole width of the field. The obverse is rather more conjectural, though it is clear that to the right of the central depression, in the gap between the British Museum piece and the new fragment, there is room for no more than the heads and shoulders of the two standing figures immediately above whom is the victorious wolf trampling the fallen enemy. On the left, the upper edge of the Ashmolean fragment preserves part of a sprawling figure, and it is just possible that here may have been a balancing scene showing a victim gored by a bull, as in the lowest register on the obverse of the Narmer palette. In this case the obverse would show the king triumphant over his enemies in three symbolic forms, as a lion, as a wolf, and as a bull.

How much of the top of the palette is lost it is impossible to tell, nor is the position of the circular depression any guide, since of the four complete examples it is roughly central in one, below in one, and above in two. However, unless it was unusually squat it is likely to have been at least half as tall again, exclusive of whatever motif crowned the upper edge.

J. R. HARRIS

### The origin of black-topped red pottery

As I have already published in my *Shaheinab* (O.U.P. 1953), it was a Sudanese friend, the late Yusef Hamid el Mek of Kerma, who pointed out to me what is undoubtedly the origin of the black-topped motif in pottery which started in the Khartoum Neolithic and was popular in Egypt in Badarian and predynastic times.

Gourd bowls or cups in the Sudan always have a black rim, for when a gourd is cut in half to make two bowls, its rim is always fired, presumably in order to prevent it tasting or splintering. So that when potters came to copy these gourd bowls as drinking bowls, they naturally tried to reproduce the black rim, because a gourd would not look right without a black rim. The method of taking the bowl from the kiln red hot and placing it upside down in carbonizing material which they developed as being the easiest way of producing a black rim in pottery, led to the aesthetically more pleasing black-topped bowl.



Gourd bowls for sale in Tangāsi market, northern Sudan.

In this connexion it is of interest to publish a photograph taken in 1945 in Tangāsi market in Merowe district, northern Sudan, showing gourd bowls for sale.

A. J. ARKELL

#### The nature of the brick-work calculations in *Kah. Pap.* XXIII, 24-40

IN his remarkable edition of the Illahun papyri, Griffith published a fragment of two pages which he describes as follows: 'The remains of this page [p. 1] consist of figures only, in four columns; the figures in the third column may indicate *aruras* or cubits (p. 59).' For the second page he provides a translation thus (p. 59):

36. Total	116511
37. Particulars of these	
38. Bricks of 5 palms	23603
39. Remainder, bricks of 6 palms	92908
40. Under the hand of the <i>frw n srtw</i> , Senbef	

Griffith's comments on the text are confined to an interesting discussion of the sizes of the bricks used in the pyramids of Illahun, Hawara, and Dahshur and references to the other occurrences of the title of the official. To these references we should add P. Berlin 10063A (*ZAS* 59, 44).

The interpretation of the calculations which I should like to offer consists in recognizing that the numeral in the fourth column in each case is the product of the numerals in the first three columns.



The figures in the first three columns are then to be regarded as representing cubits and the figure in the fourth column as the volume expressed in terms of cubic cubits. The figure in the third column of ll. 26-31 is consequently to be understood as '1 cubit, (bricks of) 5 palms' and not as '1 cubit and 5 palms'. Although the indication '5 palms' occurs immediately following the figure 1, support for the interpretation suggested is to be found in l. 38, quoted above, where bricks of 5 palms are listed.

In the following 'translation' of the calculations the numerals in brackets represent the missing portion of the first column. The fifth column consists of a sub-total in l. 33 and a grand total in l. 35. Just in front of the figures indicating the volume in col. 4 is a sign left untranscribed by Griffith but which probably is to be read as  $\ominus$ . This may be thought of as our 'equals' sign (=), although the preposition *r* is elsewhere attested as the sign for multiplication, 'by' ( $\times$ ), for which see Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>3</sup>, § 163, 5). The headings for the columns, if such there were, are lacking in the part of the papyrus preserved. On the basis of a similar passage in an unpublished account papyrus from Nag' ed-Dēr in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,<sup>4</sup> the headings may well have been *rw* (length), *wsh* (breadth), *mdwt* (depth or thickness), and *sty* (volume). This last term may be compared with the expression *stwt* in P. Rhind Problems 45, 46, 'content', with which it is evidently identical. The term is discussed by Gunn in *JEA* 12, 132, where he argues for considering its meaning as 'quotient' or 'arithmetical product'.

On the basis of this new interpretation of the fragment from Illahun, the first page may be read as follows.

	1st col.	2nd col.	3rd col.	4th col.	5th col.
24.	[?]	[?]	1	320	
25.	[8]4	4	1	336	
26.	[40]	3	1 5 palms	120	
27.	[36]	14	1 5 palms	505 (sic)	
28.	[30]	5	1 5 palms	150	
29.	[30]	7	1 5 palms	210	
30.	[1]30	17	1 5 palms	2210	
31.	[2]10	5	1 5 palms	1050	
32.	[1]26	6	1	756	
33.	[30]	4	1	120	14321
34.	[4]80	12	8	46080	
35.	[2]40	10	5	12000	72501 (sic)

Two errors are to be observed. For 505 in l. 27 we should expect 504. In l. 35 the figure in col. 5 probably represents the sum of the rubricized figure in l. 33, the figure in col. 4 in l. 34, and the figure in col. 4 in l. 35; in this case it should be 72401 and not 72501.

Let us now summarize our findings. According to the interpretation of the fragment presented in this communication, the figures in col. 4 represent the products of the figures in the first three columns. This interpretation is supported, as one can see, by the remaining traces of the figures in the first column, the numerals not in brackets. The indication '5 palms' in the third column must refer to the size of the bricks, the size of the bricks not so indicated probably being 6 palms (see l. 39). As a consequence of this explanation of the fragment, the figures in ll. 36, 38, and 39 can only refer to the volume of brick expressed in cubic cubits and not the number of individual bricks. The account may not be concerned with brick-making or the deliveries of bricks but with brick-laying, each entry representing a specific piece of work.

W. K. SIMPSON

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Dr. William Stevenson Smith for permission to study this extensive document.



## The supposed Year 21 of Akhenaten

IN an article published in 1955 Seele claimed that two hieratic dockets had been found recording the regnal years 18 and 21 of Akhenaten,<sup>1</sup> and further declared that these two dockets had been 'discarded by members of the expedition owing to their preconceived notions of the chronology of Akhenaten's reign'. Since Seele's quite unsupported assertions have obtained some credence, van der Meer,<sup>2</sup> Rowton,<sup>3</sup> and Redford<sup>4</sup> basing reconstructions of Amarna chronology on the basis of these supposed facts, it seems appropriate to state the true position and at the same time vindicate those members of the Egypt Exploration Society's expeditions at Amarna who have quite unjustly been accused of dishonesty.

Year 21 occurs 'certainly', according to Seele, on a hieratic docket published by Gunn.<sup>5</sup> Seele has not seen this docket but he is quite satisfied to reject Gunn's reading on the evidence of the published facsimile. The first comment that occurs to one is that no one knowing the very high standards set and maintained by Gunn can believe that he would have advocated a reading he knew to be false simply to support a theory. Unfortunately for Seele's case the docket in question exists and can be and has been checked. Its existence was known to me before the War and that is why in my discussion of Amarna chronology in *City of Akhenaten III* there is no mention of Year 21.

In editing the inscriptions for *City of Akhenaten III* Černý and I had originally hoped to include some detailed and critical study of Amarna hieratic. In preparation for this, in 1937-9 Černý studied all the Amarna dockets he could find at the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, and University College, London, in addition to several hundreds that I handed over to him. It is important to note that it was Černý's invariable method never to use or refer to any previous publication when copying, and his work on the dockets ceased before he could attempt identification. His notebooks were handed to me and I worked through them methodically, identifying all that in part or whole had been previously published. In the course of this work I discovered that the docket published by Gunn was in the British Museum (B.M. 55640) and that Černý had unhesitatingly transcribed the date as  $\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$  without a single query or note.

Černý was unaware of the identification of this docket until after the publication of Seele's article when I informed him of the facts and asked him to re-examine B.M. 55640. Černý not only did so, but called in Edwards and James, and they all three declared that the reading was 'Year 11'. Černý reported to me at the time that the docket had faded seriously but that the hieratic sign bore no resemblance to the normal form of  $\text{𓅓}$  and was certainly in his opinion  $\text{𓅓}$ : he thought that perhaps either a piece of ink had flaked off, or that a drop of ink had fallen on the end of the sign, but the condition of the docket did not permit him to decide which. I have since examined the docket myself, and I have nothing to add to Černý's statement. In short, there is no evidence for a regnal year 21.

There is even less support for Year 18. In *COA* II, 104, n. 1, I mentioned that Bennett read Year 18 on a docket which he had not kept and I explicitly stated that Bennett's facsimile did not support his reading. Since Seele has interpreted my statement as a suppression of the truth in order to limit Akhenaten's reign to 17 years, I give here the facsimile, as drawn by Bennett, of the signs in question  $\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$ . I suspect that this is a poor facsimile; what the reading of the signs is I have no idea, but we may be certain that it is not Year 18. This docket has another curious feature: Bennett speaks of a recto, on which he places the date, and of a verso on which is part of a line of

<sup>1</sup> *JNES* 14, 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 13 (1959), 7, n. 33.

<sup>5</sup> *COA* I, pl. LXIII, 1; cf. p. 165, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Jaarb. Ex Oriente Lux*, 15 (1958), 79.

<sup>4</sup> *JEA* 45, 34-37.



another text; such a hieratic docket from Amarna is unique in my experience and raises doubts whether it is in fact of the Amarna Period.

In short, Seele's regnal years 18 and 21 of Akhenaten are, on the evidence he has cited, completely without foundation.

H. W. FAIRMAN

### Ptolemy son of Pelops

No. 139 of the late Professor Blinkenberg's *Lindos*, II, *Inscriptions* (1941), a somewhat puzzling document of more than local interest, is as follows:

Οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου Πτολ[ε]μαῖον  
τὸν Δείνωνος τοῦ στρατηγ[οῦ]  
τῆς νήσο[υ] ἁ[ρ]ετῆ[ς] ἐν[ε]κα καὶ [ε]ὐνοίας  
ἣς ἔχων ὁ πα[τὴρ] αὐτοῦ διατελεῖ  
5 εἰς τε τὸν βασ[ι]λέα καὶ τὴν βασιλίσαν (sic)  
κ[αὶ] τὸν ὄν αὐτῶν Πτολεμαῖον  
καὶ αὐτοῦς

The editor observes that the stone—a red marble veined with white—is probably Cypriot; finds that neither the slender lettering nor the dialect nor indeed the content is Rhodian; concludes with the remark *elle provient sans doute de l'île de Chypre*. But how comes this stone to be immured into the church of St. John upon the Acropolis of Lindos? Blinkenberg, observing that the rare name *Deinon* is native to the Lindian aristocracy, argues that Cypriot ephebes, anxious to honour their governor through his son (their comrade) dispatch a statue of the latter with its base to the city of his birth. *Deinon* and *Ptolemy*, in short, were Rhodians in Ptolemaic service. But there are grave objections to all this: it is not to be supposed that the ἀπὸ γυμνασίου of some Cypriot city were too modest to disclose their identity; ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς νήσου was a title valid only for internal usage, being replaced abroad by στρατηγὸς ὁ ἐπὶ Κύπρου or τῶν κατὰ Κύπρον;<sup>1</sup> and these unnamed Ptolemies were no king and queen of Rhodes, as the abruptness of this phrase might imply. It was, I take it, such difficulties as these which prompted K. F. Kinch, Blinkenberg's own colleague, to dissent (as cited by Blinkenberg, op. cit., col. 387): the young man's statue was erected in Cyprus, its pedestal transported to Lindos casually as ballast in late Antiquity. And this dissenting opinion has received from Professor Robert a sonorous *Amen* (*REG* 55, 1942, *Bulletin épigraphique*, 362, No. 176). Nevertheless, it was disturbing to me to find chance so discriminating as to deposit a statue-base at the very city of the honorand's birth; and who was this *Deinon*, *strategos* of Cyprus in the last six years of Philopator's reign? Neither from the papyri nor the inscriptions, alike Cypriot and Egyptian, is any such person known to us. And these precise years (for I accept Blinkenberg's chronology) were adequately filled, it has been thought, by the governorship of another. Accordingly, I took my difficulties to Professor Blinkenberg, and shortly before he died he sent me with a characteristic courtesy an excellent squeeze of *Lindos* No. 139.

The first four lines of the inscription are very faint, more particularly towards their middle. Enough, however, is legible to confirm in l. 1 the editor's reading of the honorand's name, to impugn in l. 2 the patronymic. For with this last, mercifully, the definite article which precedes it, the ΟΣ with which it ends are clear. Of its first letter, however, I could see no trace, although the second, I agree, is *epsilon*. Thereafter two slanting *hastae* suggest rather *lambda* than *alpha* (where the editor

<sup>1</sup> *OGI* 117; *I. Cret.* IV, 208; *OGI* 151; *R. Phil.* 13 (1939), 153—*Opusc. Ath.* I (1953), 133, No. 5.



has IN, one upright of his *nu* incidentally being a scratch across the stone). For the rest, I read *omicron* with confidence, for there is hardly room here for *omega*, followed by the top left corner of *pi*. In short, I find here:

Τ' Ν Ε' ' ΟΣ

and for the inscription as a whole:

Οἱ ἀπὸ γυ[μνασί]ο[υ] [Π]τολεμ[α]ίων  
 τὸν [Π]έλοπος, [τοῦ στρατ]ηγγοῦ  
 τῆς νήσο[υ], ἀ[ρετῆ]ς[ς] ἐνεκ[α] καὶ εὐνοίας  
 ἧς ἔχων ὁ πα[τὴρ] αὐτοῦ διατελεῖ  
 5 ε[ἰς] τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν (sic)  
 κ[αὶ] τὸν υἱὸν (sic) αὐτῶν Πτολεμαῖον  
 καὶ αὐτούς

The governor of Cyprus, therefore, who was the father of this Ptolemy, was not Deinon but Pelops; and of him not a little is known from inscriptions, literature, and the papyri. Three Cypriot inscriptions which concern him are the following:

(1) OGI 75 of Salamis:

[Β]ασ[ιλέα] Πτολεμαῖον Πτολεμαῖο[υ] | κ[αὶ] Βερενίκης Θεῶν Εὐεργέτων | Πέλοψ Π[έλοπος]

(2) OGI 84 = JHS 57, 31 of Old Paphos:

[ἡ πόλις Μυρσίν]ην [Υ]περβάσσ[αντος] | Πέλοπ[ος] τοῦ Πέλ[οπος] τοῦ στρατηγοῦ | τῆς  
 νήσο[υ] γυ[μνα]ί[α] καὶ εὐνοίας ἐνεκεν | [ἧς] ἔχων δια[τελεῖ] Πέλοψ εἰς βασιλέ[α] | Π[τολεμαῖον] καὶ  
 τ[ὴν] ἀ[δελφὴν] αὐτοῦ | βασίλ[ισσαν] Ἀρσινόην Θεοῦ Φιλοπάτορα[ς] | κ[αὶ] τὴν Παφίων πόλιν

(3) JHS 57, 30, No. 6 of Salamis:<sup>1</sup>

[οἱ ὑπὸ τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα ? τ]εταγμένοι[ι] - - - σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀ[πα]σι στρατιώται[ς] | τοῖς  
 ὑπ' αὐτὸν στρατευομένοις ?] Μυρσίνην Ὑπερβάσσ[αντος] | [Πέλοπος τοῦ Πέλοπος τοῦ στ]ρατηγοῦ  
 τῆς νήσου γυναικα | [εὐνοίας ἐνεκεν ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ Π]έλοψ εἰς βασιλέα | [Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τὴν  
 ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ βασίλισσαν | Ἀρσινόην Θεοῦ Φιλοπάτο]ρας καὶ αὐτούς].

To these may now be added an inscription of Cyrene from the reign of Euergetes I wherein Pelops son of Pelops is honoured by that city: an inscription shortly to be published by Mr. P. M. Fraser, to whom I am indebted for the information. Finally, we are told by Polybius (xv, 25, 13) that Agathokles, when the death of Philopator had been divulged, to be rid of him dispatched Pelops on embassy to Antiochus.

The father of Pelops was the Macedonian Pelops, son of Alexandros, whom we meet in 281 B.C. as φίλος τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου commanding Ptolemaic forces in Samos (*SEG* I. 1923, 364), in 264/3 as an eponym of Alexandria (*RE* VIII, col. 1439); and clearly he was a grandee of the realm. Pelops himself, having served in Cyrene under Euergetes, on the testimony of two of our Cypriot inscriptions was governor of that island on the one hand after the marriage of Arsinoe at the end of 217, on the other before the birth of her son on October 9, 209. His wife was Myrsine (these also tell us), the daughter of Hyperbassas and therefore sister to that Iamneia who in 243/2 was *κατηφόρος* of Arsinoe Philadelphus (*RE* VIII, col. 1439)—a member like her husband of the aristocracy of Alexandria.

*Lindos* No. 139, adds two new facts to these: Pelops and Myrsine had a son they named Ptolemy and Pelops was *strategos* after, as he was before, the news of Epiphanes' birth had reached the island. Whether indeed this *strategia* persisted (as I am tempted to believe) until the *dies imperii* of Epiphanes, November 28, 205, when according to l. 47 of the Rosetta Stone *παρέλαβεν τὴν βασιλείαν*

<sup>1</sup> The supplements suggested by me for ll. 1 and 2 in my original publication of this inscription I have long since withdrawn.



παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, we are as yet in no position to decide.<sup>1</sup> I conjecture that Pelops was recalled by Agathokles in that interval of some months' duration when the death of Philopator and the murder of Arsinoë were still being concealed, to be succeeded directly by Polykrates of Argos.<sup>2</sup> Be this as it may, Pelops has the distinction of being the first governor of Cyprus to be attested by the epigraphy of the island: the second century can boast the names of ten *strategoi* against his only for its predecessor.

It remains for us to note that the stone on which *Lindos* No. 139, is reported to be cut is of a sort confined in Cyprus to pedestals of Paphos and Curium. Indeed the quarry from which it originated is, I believe, to be located on the Western lip of the Khapotami gorge some 2 miles to the south-east of Kouklia (Old Paphos); for there in this predominantly limestone country a broad seam of this 'pink' marble extrudes and shows clear signs of ancient working. And if our choice must lie between these two for the provenance of our inscription, there can be little hesitation in accepting the former. New Paphos, with the ancient city some 10 miles to the south-east serving in effect as its *ἑρὸν*, was at the turn of the century, if not already the capital of Cyprus, shortly to become such: a city with a serviceable harbour, the last for those sailing westwards until they reached the Cilician coast; the seat of the *strategos* and the chief garrison city of the island. Professor Blinkenberg was, I believe, at fault in dismissing the ἀπὸ γυμνασίου as mere ephebes. The gymnasium was in early and middle Hellenistic times the chief focus of patriotic sentiment, its tone directed by the troops who dominated its activities. These ἀπὸ γυμνασίου were predominantly soldiers, either military settlers or mercenaries of the garrison. In an unpublished inscription of Old Paphos οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, who do not identify themselves but are clearly of New Paphos, honour in very similar terms a son of Polykrates of Argos, the successor of Pelops. I take it that in *Lindos* No. 139, we have a companion text.

T. B. MITFORD

### A new Coptic month

AMONG the Coptic documents recently published by P. V. Jernstedt<sup>3</sup> is a record of payments<sup>4</sup> which uses the word ⲁⲟⲩⲥⲁⲧ six times and in such a way as to suggest that it is the name of a month. So we have, e.g. l. 6, ⲛⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲛ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲥⲁⲧ 'the 28th of Daousati', l. 8, ⲛⲁⲗⲗⲛ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲥⲁⲧ 'the last day of Daousati'.

This recalls an item in some unpublished eleventh-century monastery accounts owned by Mr. G. Michaelides of Cairo: ⲛⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲁⲣⲁⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲉⲃ ⲙⲁ ⲥⲟⲩ ⲓⲗ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧ ⲉⲣⲧⲁⲃ ⲛⲁⲥⲥⲓⲣⲓ—ⲓⲗ 'What the cattle ate up to the 16th of Tausati, as-Sarī *artabae*—16.'

Both these texts are Fayyūmic. In the following Sahidic texts the word takes a somewhat different form.

The first, also owned by Mr. Michaelides, is an acknowledgement of debt from monks of the τόπος of Apa Anoub to monks of the τόπος of Apa Apollo. In this document they undertake to pay the debt ⲙⲁ ⲥⲟⲩⲭⲏⲧⲏ (*sic*) ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'by the 25th of Tapsote'.

<sup>1</sup> For a recent survey of the chronological problems associated with the death of Philopator, the accession of Epiphaneus, cf. the admirable survey of T. C. Skeat, *Münch. Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung*, 1954, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> For this Polykrates, cf. in particular L. Robert, *REG* 62 (1949), 61, No. 202. Further, *Opusc. Ath.* 1 (1953), 142, n. 22.

<sup>3</sup> П. В. Ернштедт: *Коптские тексты Государственного Музея Изобразительных Искусств*, etc. Издательство Академии Наук СССР: Москва—Ленинград, 1959.

<sup>4</sup> No. 37, p. 90.

As it happens, the same date seems to occur in Till's *Bauernpraktik*.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript is broken and all we have is ]ⲭⲟⲩⲧⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲩ[.<sup>2</sup>

Till's text leads on naturally to 'Abd Al-Massih's *Fragmentary Farmer's Almanac*,<sup>3</sup> where we have, ll. 5-9, ⲭⲓⲛ ⲡⲁⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲡ ⲧⲁⲩⲩⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲡ ⲡⲭⲱⲱⲗⲉ ⲙⲡ ⲑⲱⲑ ⲙⲡ ⲡⲁⲓⲁⲡⲉ ⲙⲡ ⲁⲑⲱⲣ ⲙⲡ ⲭⲓⲁⲭⲭⲉⲩⲩ ⲛⲏⲣⲡ ⲛⲁⲭⲟⲩⲩ ⲩⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲟⲙ ⲛⲩⲩⲣ ⲟⲩⲩⲱⲣ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲩⲱ ⲧⲱⲑⲉ 'From Paone and Tapsate and ⲡⲭⲱⲱⲗⲉ and Thoth and Paope and Athor and Khoiak wine will be scarce in the wine-press (? the Fayyūm?) and will hold the same price till Tobe'.

This last text suggests that the month Tapsate or Tausati is the same as Epip and, incidentally, that ⲡⲭⲱⲱⲗⲉ is used here for Mesore.<sup>4</sup>

J. DRESCHER

<sup>1</sup> W. Till, Eine koptische Bauernpraktik. *Mitteilungen Deutsch. Inst. für äg. Altertumskunde in Kairo*, Band 6 (1936), Heft 2, p. 122, and pl. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Till reads ⲭⲟⲩⲧⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲩ[ but the plate shows that the correct reading is rather ⲭⲟⲩⲧⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲩ[

<sup>3</sup> *Cahiers Coptes*, 1956, No. 10.

<sup>4</sup> H. S. K. Bakry in *Ann. Serv.* 55, 264 publishes the epitaph of a person who died on the 24th of ⲡⲭⲱⲱⲗⲉ (*sic*).



## REVIEWS

*Wall Scenes from the Mortuary Chapel of the Mayor Paser at Medinet Habu.* By SIEGFRIED SCHOTT. Translated by ELIZABETH B. HAUSER. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation No. 30. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1957. Medium 4to. Pp. xi+21, figs. in text 9, pls. 3. Price 37s. 6d.

The wall scenes that form the subject of this book have been recovered by piecing together a number of sandstone blocks found during the excavation of the Western Fortified Gate at Medinet Habu. These blocks had been re-used as paving in some tombs constructed after the destruction of the gate.

Parts of three separate walls have been identified. Two are shown by the surviving legends to have belonged to the mortuary chapel of Paser, a mayor of Thebes during the time of Ramesses III, the third probably belonged to the same building but this is not certain. The mortuary chapel in question must almost certainly have been one of the five which existed in the vicinity of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III: Professor Schott suggests either no. I or no. V.

It is a pity that so much of the scenes has been lost for they are unusual and of considerable interest. However, each of the three walls is the subject of a separate plate in which, by judicious restoration following the indications given by the surviving blocks, the general tenor of the subjects represented has been made clear.

Wall 1 presents incidents from the official life of Paser, in particular the delivery of statues to the royal court. Professor Schott thinks that the events shown took place in connexion with the preparations for and celebration of the Feast of Nehebka. He is led to this, among other things, by three dates that occur in the legends attached to the statue-deliveries, viz. year 2, IV Inundation, 10; year 18, I Winter, 14; and year 3, IV Inundation, 19; in that order. Professor Schott points out that these dates all fall within a period of one month around I Winter, 1, and further says that the festival in question was celebrated on *psdntlw* in the first month of winter. This seems somewhat dubious since the Nehebka feast appears to have been celebrated on the first day of the first month of winter rather than on some day astronomically fixed by the moon. Nevertheless, the dates certainly do fall within the period stated, and it is a fact that the first two (i.e. those for years 2 and 18) are almost exactly 198 lunations apart, while the date for year three would also fit if the number were four and not three. It would therefore appear that the dates in question may well have some significance in the lunar calendar.

Wall 2 has scenes which probably illustrate the journey of the Neshmet-bark and the Festival of Sokar, the detail of the latter being unique for a private tomb.

Wall 3 probably represents the Beautiful Feast of the Valley. The surviving details arouse great interest so that it is particularly tantalizing that so little remains of them.

C. H. S. SPAULL

*The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt.* By W. STEVENSON SMITH. The Pelican History of Art, edited by NIKOLAUS PEVSNER. Penguin Books, 1958. Crown 4to. Pp. xxvii+301, pls. 192, figs. in text 77. Price 63s.

Egypt early became the home of an original and sophisticated flowering of the arts. Dr. W. Stevenson Smith points out in his introduction how, the foundations having been laid during the earliest dynasties, the characteristics of Egyptian artistic expression continued throughout the dynastic period: there was constant change but the basic concepts never altered.

This is a factual account closely interwoven with history. The available material is well described, the lines of development are traced, changes distinguishing one period from another are indicated, and the effects of foreign influences are discussed. However, little attention is paid to the psychology of Egyptian artistic feeling and the conventions used are not adequately set out so that the reader can obtain a sound grasp



of them. Nevertheless, what was happening in the world of Egyptian art is everywhere related to the unfolding of Egyptian civilization and history and in this respect the reader with no Egyptological background is ably assisted.

This is a book on art and architecture, and so must largely stand or fall by its plates. The plates being all in black and white of necessity impose a severe limitation when it comes to illustrating painting. This restriction makes it imperative that examples be chosen for illustration because of their good state of preservation and clarity. Unfortunately this has often not been done and many of the subjects are fragmentary or productive of indistinct plates.<sup>1</sup> This is disappointing, and I fear that no adequate visual conception of Egyptian painting is conveyed.

When it comes to sculpture, both in relief and in the round, and architecture the same limitations do not apply. The plates giving examples of these two arts are good. Architecture is especially well handled in that there are excellent general views of buildings, drawings giving restorations, and really first-class plans. These plans include tombs, temples, pyramid temples, the fortress of Uronarti, the Karnak temples, two New Kingdom palaces, general areas, as well as individual buildings at 'Amārnah, the Ramesseum, and the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu. There is a plan of the Middle Kingdom town of Kahun and one of the town of 'Amārnah, but it is a pity that these town-plans are not rounded off by the inclusion of a plan of the workmen's village at Dēr el-Medīnah.

Particular mention must be made of the detailed plans and description of the Malkata palace of Amenophis III for, from a purely Egyptological point of view, these are most valuable. Very little has been published about this palace and this additional information is most welcome.

Some attention is paid to smaller art objects, particularly jewellery. Specimens of furniture from the Old Kingdom tomb of Queen Hetepheres and the New Kingdom tomb of King Tutankhamūn are illustrated and described, but little is said of book-illustration and nothing at all about calligraphy.

In addition to the plates and text there are 30 pages of detailed notes which serve to extend greatly the brief formal bibliography with which the book is furnished. There is also an adequate reference apparatus consisting of a list of contents, of figures in the text, of plates, and of abbreviations, as well as a chronological table, a map, and a general index.

C. H. S. SPAULL

*Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. I. The Theban Necropolis. Part I, Private Tombs.* By the late BERTHA PORTER and ROSALIND L. B. MOSS, assisted by ETHEL W. BURNEY. Oxford, Griffith Institute. Pp. xix and 493, 8 maps. 1960. £10.

The Topographical Bibliography, or better, Porter-Moss or PM as it is now currently quoted, was brought to a successful conclusion by its seventh volume in 1951. PM covers the whole of Egypt and the Sudan, as well as any country where Egyptian antiquities have been unearthed, and has transformed the impenetrable jungle of Egyptological literature into a well-ordered garden. The only volume which remains outstanding is Vol. VIII which should contain various important indexes and concordances. The preparation of this volume has been postponed in favour of a second edition of Vols. I and II which are those dealing with the Theban area, for ever since their appearance, in 1927 and 1929 respectively, Thebes has witnessed continuous and energetic excavation and recording activity. The accumulation of so much material, due to Winlock's excavations round Dēr el-Bahri and Bruyère's at Dēr el-Medīnah, to the continuous tidying up at Karnak and Luxor by the Antiquities Department, to the untiring work in private tombs of Mr. and Mrs. N. de G. Davies as well as to that of the members of the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology, and to the work of the Oriental Institute of Chicago University at Medīnet Habu and Karnak and of Piankoff in the royal tombs—to name only some out of many others—all this convinced the Editors of PM that the time had come to take stock of these additions. In fact the mass of new material was such that it seemed no longer feasible to compile a volume of additions, and the Editors decided to recast the two Theban volumes afresh. Vol. I would have become so bulky that it has had to be split into two parts, the present

<sup>1</sup> E.g. pls. 72A, 73A, 77B, 92A, 102, 106, 108B, 116, 129B, 141B, 162A, 163A.



Part 1 dealing with the private tombs, while Part 2 will contain the tombs of the kings and queens and all the other antiquities of the West bank, with the exception of the temples; these are, as before, reserved for Vol. II.

As against the 212 pages of the original Vol. I, Part 1 of the new edition alone has (including the maps at the end) 502 pages, and the private tombs nos. 1 to 347 known in 1927, which then covered 131 pages, now require 415. Sixty-one new tombs have been discovered in the meantime, the last, no. 409, found as late as the spring of 1959 and inserted as an Addendum on pp. 461-2. Since the Editor's Introduction is dated November 1959 we can be sure that all that was known and published down to almost the end of last year has been incorporated.

But this is not all: the Topographical Bibliography has ceased to be a bibliography alone and has become a detailed inventory of all the 409 private tombs of Thebes. While the old edition omitted the tombs of which nothing had been published, the new one contains plans and concise descriptions of the contents of all the accessible tombs. It is therefore no longer necessary to go to the tomb itself to find out whether there is still anything in it which remains unpublished: scenes and inscriptions, published and unpublished alike, are now referred to by numbers on the sketch plan of the tomb and to each number (the numbers of the 1st edition being added in square brackets) a descriptive paragraph in the text corresponds, followed by a second paragraph of bibliography where such exists. The first of the five Appendixes (Appendix A, pp. 462-75) consists of a classified list of selected subjects in these tomb scenes, listed under forty-one headings.

The Topographical Bibliography has been paying increasing attention to objects from various sites which are actually preserved in museums or collections. This widening of the original scope is important since a complete study of any site is not possible without also taking into account the objects found there, though these may no longer be present on the spot. In the new volume such objects are listed as fully as possible together with their bibliography.

The unpublished copies of monuments now include further manuscript material: the manuscripts of Bankes, Davies, Devéria, Golenischeff, Lane, Lepsius, Newberry, de Ricci, Seyffarth, Spiegelberg, Wilbour, and Wild, as well as the squeezes of Devéria and Spiegelberg, and Williams's rubbings—all these have been carefully examined and incorporated together with their catalogue numbers. The same has been done with large collections of photographs made or accumulated by the firm of Alinari, Chicago Oriental Institute, Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Griffith Institute, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Marburg Institute, Philadelphia University Museum, and by Mond, Petrie, and Prof. Schott. Anyone, therefore, who is interested in a particular scene or inscription need no longer go through the complicated process of having photographs made, but, where the owner's name is quoted, can apply direct for a print, thereby effecting a saving of both time and money.

Despite the 500-odd pages which contain all this rich information, the volume remains light enough to be used in the field owing to the thinner but stronger paper on which it is printed, and the new full cloth binding should prove more resistant to wear and tear than that of previous editions.

Enough has been said to make it clear that the new edition not only fulfils a real need, but is an enormous improvement on the original issue. This, and the wealth of information it contains, should go far to compensate for the increase in price which is considerable, but inevitable in the world of 1960 as compared with that of 1927. Investment in such a volume is bound to bring in a very high dividend.

J. ČERNÝ

*Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Fourth Series: Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom.*

Edited by I. E. S. EDWARDS. London, British Museum, 1960. Two vols., folio. Vol. I, Text, xxiii + 128 pp.; Vol. II, Pls. I-XLVI and IA-XLVIA. £8. 12s. 6d.

After a long interval lasting a quarter of a century the publication of the hieratic treasures in the British Museum has been resumed by a Fourth Series, edited by the Keeper of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities. The nature of the contents of the series is indicated by the sub-title: it is a homogeneous group of oracular decrees issued by Egyptian deities for male and female beneficiaries and worn by these as



amulets. It comprises twenty-one papyri, of which seven, that is, the relative but not the absolute majority, belong to the British Museum, the rest being shared by nine other public and private collections in Europe, Egypt, and America. It is to be appreciated that the Trustees of the British Museum have here deviated from their usual practice and have included in the publication documents not belonging to the British Museum: it would have been most inconvenient if the student had had to refer to more than one publication to study this new and highly interesting kind of hieratic text. Only one of the papyri presented here, and part of another, have previously been published in facsimile, and one only in hieroglyphic transcription; none has ever been translated or commented upon.

Scholars now have all they need in these two volumes, very handsomely produced by the Oxford University Press: the Plates volume contains excellent collotypes of the hieratic texts themselves, each plate being faced by an accurate hieroglyphic transcription; in the Text volume, each document is described, translated, and annotated.

An Introduction (pp. xi-xxiii) deals with the texts as a group: their external features, provenance, date, ownership, general character, and contents, this last section containing the summary of the new information supplied by these texts concerning the popular religious beliefs of the Twenty-second Dynasty, which is approximately the period of all the texts.

The translation and commentary of each are followed by a concordance tabulating all parallel passages occurring in the other texts of the group, for many passages are found in more than one, a feature which has been of great help in their reading. Not only are many of them imperfectly preserved, but they are also mostly written in a highly cursive script. The Editor has deciphered them with great skill, and it is only rarely that he has been forced to have recourse to interrogation marks for signs and groups as a substitute for transcription. Only with the help of new documents of this type will it be possible to read such obscure passages. The possession of oracular amuletic decrees seems to have been so common that further examples may be expected to be discovered either in Egypt or slumbering forgotten in some collection of Egyptian antiquities.

The publication contains a wealth of new information on religion, grammar, palaeography, and vocabulary, and the selective indexes at the end of the Text volume will be found helpful in using the two volumes. The Editor must be congratulated on this fine outcome of his long and patient work of decipherment and elucidation of a group of texts from which scholars have so far been deterred by reason of the difficulty of the palaeography.

J. ČERNÝ

*Neolithic Cultures of North Africa.* By JAMES FORDE-JOHNSTON. Liverpool University Press, 1959. Pp. 163, 8 plates and map. Price 32s. 6d.

This book aims at giving a comprehensive account of the later prehistory of a large area geographically connected with the Nile valley and western Europe, but little known to English readers. It is admittedly a compilation from the work of many other people, mostly French; but, having presented the facts disclosed by these workers up to the time of writing, the author has naturally formed his own mental picture and drawn his own conclusions.

Realization that the Sahara only recently became a desert led him to try to see what form the Neolithic had taken there, what had been its relations with the Neolithic of the Nile valley, and how it had affected western Europe. And the reviewer congratulates him on being one of the first to appreciate the importance of the Kharṭūm area in this connexion.

After two chapters which give a picture of the geography of North Africa clearer than any I know in other English publications, and a chapter sketching the Upper Palaeolithic background, come outlines of the early cultures of the Nile valley and the Neolithic of north-west Africa, with slighter summaries of the Saharan Neolithic and the 'Sudanese' Neolithic. (Despite a footnote on p. 51 to the effect that 'Sudan' and 'Sudanese' are used in the book in the French rather than in the English sense, it would have made for greater clarity if English usage had been followed, and the French Sudan had been so indicated. As it is, inevitably,



'Sudan' in this volume more than once means the late 'Anglo-Egyptian' Sudan, and the reader is several times at a loss to know which Sudan is meant.) Short sketches of the Human Palaeontology, and Domestic Animals and Cultivated Plants are then followed by an important chapter on the Interrelationship of the Neolithic cultures, in which the views of various authorities are compared, and the two most important conclusions of the book are foreshadowed: (1) that the Aterian may be the origin of all bifacial technique both in the Nile valley and the Sahara; and (2) that 'if the incised and impressed pottery of the Sahara and North-west Africa are to be derived from the Nile Valley, Kharṭūm seems a more likely place than Egypt, where such wares are only exceptional'. There is some confusion in this chapter between the Kharṭūm Mesolithic and the Kharṭūm Neolithic. Despite what is stated, flaked celts ('axes') only occur in the latter, and the statement that the Badarian antedates the Kharṭūm Mesolithic and the Fayyūm Neolithic cannot be accepted.

Then comes a chapter analysing at length the Rock Drawings of North Africa. The author's view ranges from Jordan and the Nile valley through North Africa into Spain. He wisely considers the distribution of the various styles, incised outline, pecking, and painting; notes that the Fezzan is the only area where all three styles occur, and suggests that therefore it is the likely centre of origin, as well as being geographically the centre. It seems, however, to the reviewer, that the geographical situation of the Fezzan may well account for the existence there of all styles without necessarily indicating that it is therefore their *fons et origo*. He agrees with the author that there is little evidence of Egyptian influence on North African art, while there is some evidence for the influence of North Africa on Egypt; but he would suggest that human activities (quarrying and tomb-cutting) throughout Egypt during the historic period must have destroyed many prehistoric petroglyphs. The general Egyptian custom of decorating the walls of their temples and tombs with paintings may, however, have contributed to some extent to the spread of rock painting (at the expense of petroglyphs) in the eastern half of North Africa. But it is not surprising that his study of rock pictures led Mr. Forde-Johnston to the conclusion that 'as yet there is not much to be said with regard to the chronology of North African art without strong reservations'.

There follows an interesting survey of Neolithic incised and impressed pottery in and around the Mediterranean. In Spain the earlier cave ware seems to derive from Africa, and to lead to the bell beakers of western Europe. But why then is it concluded that the beaker-like vessel from Dar el-Soltan in Morocco is a Spanish import? The plain ware in Spain (later than cave ware) is reasonably attributed to influence coming from Egypt by sea. Indeed, Mr. Forde-Johnston suspects that the eastern Mediterranean is the source of many elements in the Neolithic of the western Mediterranean. But he says that the eastern pottery is incised rather than impressed, and that the tool is the point rather than the comb or shell. This, if correct, would suggest to me that on the contrary pottery was probably diffused from west to east. But the comb was certainly used at Mersin, and perhaps the diffusion was rather from south to north. To Mr. Forde-Johnston, Kharṭūm seems too far away; but M. Gérard Bailloud and I have recently traced a late form of Kharṭūm Mesolithic ware well into Africa, more than a thousand miles west of Kharṭūm, and M. Hugot of Algiers informs me that he has found the same pottery more than another thousand miles farther west still—in Mouydir, north-west of the Hoggar mountains. The diffusion thus appears to have been in a straight line west-north-west from the Kharṭūm area. This pottery was originally decorated with a cat-fish spine, and when it reached the Mediterranean, the *cardium* shell naturally became the comb. M. Hugot reports that he has a C 14 date of 5430 B.C. for one of these sites (Meniet). Though C 14 results are unreliable because contamination is so easy, this date would fit in well with the age of the Kharṭūm Mesolithic deducible from its known climatic conditions, and the C 14 date of c. 4440 B.C. for the Fayyūm Neolithic. The published C 14 date for Kharṭūm Neolithic of Shaheinab (p. 106) is certainly too low.

In attempting a survey of all the evidence about the Neolithic of North Africa known to him, Mr. Forde-Johnston has produced a book that will be welcomed by all English-speaking prehistorians of Africa. It is only by the method he has pursued and by the collection of more evidence in the field that the truth will finally out. The geographical area is immense, and the time span runs into thousands of years. Archaeologists in the field, and particularly French archaeologists, are adding detail to the overall picture every year. But nothing has come to light to contradict the author's conclusion that Egypt has not had any influence on the Neolithic of the Sahara; and it becomes more and more clear that a very early movement carried the recent invention of pottery from the junction of the Niles out west-north-west across Africa, and that when a



neolithic culture had flourished long in a Sahara that had not yet earned its name of 'desert', that culture was gradually forced by advancing desiccation to send out waves of influence all round its periphery, several of those waves coming into the Nile valley near Kharṭūm, the Fayyūm, and later Kharga, while others penetrated the Mediterranean area at more than one point.

A. J. ARKELL

*The Scepter of Egypt*, Part II. By WILLIAM C. HAYES. Published for the Metropolitan Museum of Art by the Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959. Pp. xv+496, 275 half-tone figures in the text and one map.

The second volume of *The Scepter of Egypt* continues the account of the collection of the Department of Egyptian Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, begun in the first volume. The period covered runs from the Hyksos domination to the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. Readers of Part I will remember that Dr. Hayes's purpose is to write not a simple guide-book to the collection but a general study of Egyptian civilization illustrated by the collection. The result, therefore, is considerably more discursive and informative than any guide-book could be. The order of treatment is historical and not determined by the way the collection is exhibited. This method allows the author to make use of material not in the collection but vital for the understanding of particular aspects of Egyptian life.

In Part I the method was exploited most successfully and a well-balanced account of Egyptian history and civilization from Predynastic times to the end of the Middle Kingdom resulted. In this respect Part II is not so successful because the distribution of material by historical periods in the Metropolitan Museum is disproportionate and Hayes has, in consequence, been obliged to write a disproportionate volume. Two-thirds of the narrative are devoted to the Eighteenth Dynasty alone with very much shorter sections on the Hyksos domination and the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. The material of Eighteenth Dynasty date in the Metropolitan Museum is largely Theban in origin and, for the most part, precisely documented. It forms by itself a formidably comprehensive collection of antiquities, and Hayes has written a splendid account of it set within a lucid historical and cultural framework. It was perhaps inevitable that the account of the two subsequent dynasties should suffer by comparison. The Metropolitan Museum is by no means lacking fine and interesting objects of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, but they look unavoidably meagre after the riches of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It might have been better if this volume had closed with the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The virtuoso effort of doing full justice to this dynasty also seems to have left the author somewhat exhausted, and the final chapters lack the lively enthusiasm of the greater part of the book.

Part I of the *Scepter* revealed that the Metropolitan Museum had a very fine collection of Egyptian material from the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Part II now shows that for the New Kingdom, and for the Eighteenth Dynasty in particular, its collection is quite outstanding. This is no place to enumerate the choicest treasures; the pleasure of discovery can be left to the individual reader. For few people apart from those fortunate enough to have visited New York and seen the exhibited collection of the Metropolitan Museum will have realized before the publication of these volumes how very rich and varied the collection is. Its present state is largely the result of an excavation policy wisely planned and energetically carried out, supplemented by judicious and fruitful purchases, such as that of the Carnarvon collection, and by generous gifts, high among which is the Theodore Davis bequest. It is also clear from Hayes's account that this collection is supremely well organized and catalogued, a state of affairs rare in most big collections.

One of the greatest problems facing museum curators is that of making the objects in their care available and known to the general public on the one hand, and to scholars on the other. Volumes like those of *Scepter* admirably succeed in telling the general public what they can see in a great collection. They also succeed up to a point in letting scholars know the scope of the collection treated and in showing by illustration many objects previously unpublished. They are, however, for scholars infinitely tantalizing, for they provide tastes only where deep draughts are needed. In reading *Scepter* one realizes how little is generally known of this great collection. The excavations at Lisht and Thebes have only received inadequate publications so that much of the rich material found at these places is now receiving its first mention in print. Can we hope to



see something more comprehensive before too long? It is clear that for certain periods such as the Eighteenth Dynasty the Metropolitan Museum has a collection of documented, well-dated objects so large and varied that it could provide a good basis for a general typological study of many categories of antiquities. The dating in particular of the humble objects from Ancient Egypt is a hazardous operation in which the principal aids are still Petrie's *Objects of Daily Use* and *Tools and Weapons*. Comprehensive studies are badly needed and the publication of well-documented museum collections would be of great use.

*Scepter II*, like *Scepter I*, is exceptionally well produced. Its formal layout is handsome, it is splendidly illustrated, well indexed, and provided with an unusually good and full bibliography. Dr. Hayes writes with authority, but at the same time with a lightness of touch that would woo even the reader who suspects that he is being instructed. Various hints lead us to hope that there will be a *Scepter III*. Let it please be not long delayed.

A few small points may here be mentioned.

P. 38. In speaking of heart scarabs Hayes notes that nephrite may be the stone specified for these objects in the relevant chapter of the Book of the Dead. He says: 'Very few, however, are made of nephrite.' It would indeed be interesting to know whether the Metropolitan Museum possesses any well authenticated heart scarabs, or other objects, made of nephrite or jadeite. The judicious comments by Lucas (*Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*,<sup>3</sup> 453) leave the question of whether the Egyptians used jade unsettled. Objects apparently Ancient Egyptian and made of nephrite have been examined scientifically and found to be in fact nephrite; but, in the experience of this reviewer, none has been an object with an adequate pedigree. The problem remains unsolved.

P. 64. Are the bronze implements described on this page and shown in fig. 33 truly razors? The cutting blades are invariably small and designed better for slicing like a scalpel than for shaving like a razor. One example in the British Museum (no. 26262) has a copper figure of a goat mounted behind the upper hooked cutting edge; the figure projects in such a way as to make shaving with the edge quite impossible. The elaborately designed examples, one of which is illustrated in fig. 164, which preserve only the terminal cutting edge are even less like razors. The fact that such 'knives' are sometimes found with toilet objects certainly suggests that they have a use connected with the care of the body. Petrie, however, in *Tools and Weapons*, 51, points out that they are found with burials of women and he suggests that they are cutting-out knives.

P. 85. More of the model tools found by the Egypt Exploration Fund in foundation deposits at Dēr el-Bahri are now in the British Museum.

P. 232. Hayes notes that the smaller commemorative scarabs of Amenophis III (those that are mostly inscribed with his *prenomen* and an epithet of a semi-biographical nature) in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum are 'almost without exception moulded of blue or green faience'. The opposite is the case with those in the British Museum; of 17 examples there 14 are carved in steatite and glazed; 3 only are of glazed composition.

P. 255. A small arrow or javelin head from the Malkata palace is described as being of iron. It comes from the Middle Palace which was probably the residence of Akhenaten. The discovery of an iron weapon in a good Eighteenth-Dynasty context is surprising and more details would be welcome. Is the iron, for example, meteoric?

T. G. H. JAMES

*Mit Rahineh 1955*. By RUDOLF ANTHERS. Museum Monograph of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1959. Pp. 93, pls. 45 and a map.

In 1955 the University Museum, Philadelphia, in collaboration with the Egyptian Antiquities Service began excavations at Mit Rahīnah. The director of the whole undertaking was Mr. John Dimick; the principal excavations were supervised by Dr. Rudolf Anthes. The object of the expedition was to make a systematic clearance of an area at the south-west corner of the Temple-enclosure of Ptah where discoveries



of various kinds had been made in small diggings in recent years. These earlier operations had uncovered several gable-roofed tombs of the Twenty-second Dynasty, two buildings of the time of Ramesses II, a chapel of Sethos I, in which a number of objects of considerable interest had been discovered, and the Embalming House of the Apis Bulls. It was hoped that further excavation in this area would reveal some connexion between these various buildings and their relation to the Temple of Ptah.

In the course of two months' work the following discoveries were made:

(a) The south-west corner of the great Enclosure wall of the Temple of Ptah. From a stela of Merenptah found by Labib Habachi in 1948 in the neighbouring chapel of Sethos I it appears that the wall was probably built by Merenptah.

(b) The Sanctuary of Ramesses II just outside the south-west corner of the wall was found to be part of a larger temple, the area of which was encroached on by the building of the wall. In front of this Sanctuary is a colonnade, and the excavations revealed that this area was occupied by artisans' dwellings and workshops after the Sanctuary fell into disuse.

(c) In the same area, in the south-east corner of the Sanctuary, were found three modest tombs built of re-used limestone slabs (some of which bear scenes which are not discussed in this volume) and mud-brick. They are all to be dated probably to the Late New Kingdom and, as intrusive in the brickwork of the temple, may be compared with similar late tombs found at Medinet Habu. The three tombs, X, Y and Z, yielded few objects of interest apart from Z. This tomb contained the remains of an old woman and with the body were the surviving elements of a necklace, including eleven pendants, mostly of gold and silver, one of which was a solid gold statuette of Amūn and another a solid gold figure of a scorpion.

(d) A small excavation was made to uncover the southern part of the gateway that originally formed the entrance to the Sanctuary of Ramesses II. The northern part had been previously uncovered in 1948.

(e) Further clearance was undertaken in the area of the Embalming House of the Apis Bulls.

Very adequate accounts of all these operations are given in *Mit Rahineh 1955*. Anthes contributes an introduction (which contains a brief account of recent work in the area by Labib Habachi) and a chapter of summary and conclusions on the excavations in the main area of work. The architecture is described by Monsieur J. Jacquet who in a remarkably lucid manner makes clear, as far as is possible, the confused tangle of stone and brickwork uncovered at various levels. Dr. Henry Fischer studies the finds of tomb Z, the pottery, and the flints. Other objects are described by Dr. Hasan S. K. Bakry; they are mostly very modest. Dimick provides a chapter on the Embalming House of the Apis Bulls in which he suggests that the whole process of the mummification of the dead animals was carried out at Memphis and not at the Serapeum.

The descriptions of all these operations are somewhat inhibited by the fact that the work of this first season raised many problems that can only be solved by further work. It is to be hoped that the report for the 1956 season will be published soon and that the expedition may be able to resume work on the site before long. A most useful by-product of the first season's work was a new map of the central area of Memphis which is published loose with this volume. It can also be obtained separately. The new survey of the ancient monuments was carried out by Dimick and he has included all standing monuments as they are at present. Those that have been removed or are reburied are not included. The map is on a sufficiently large scale to be really useful.

Two small necessary corrections have been pointed out to me by Fischer. The caption of fig. 1A should read 'Alabaster vessels from Tomb Z'. The direction 'Looking west' for pl. 14a is misleading; the feet of the body point towards the west.

T. G. H. JAMES


*The Tomb of Tjanefer at Thebes.* By KEITH C. SEELE. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. LXXXVI. Chicago, 1959. Pp. x+10, pls. 41.

The tomb, the scenes of which are published in this volume, is one of the largest and most conspicuous on the upper slopes of Dra' Abu 'n Naga' (no. 158). It is well known to visitors to the Theban Necropolis and has received some mention by early writers. The scenes in the Court and the inner chambers are much damaged, but many interesting parts remain. Reference to the new edition of Porter and Moss, *Topographical*



*Bibliography*, vol. 1, pt. 1, in which all the scenes are listed, shows how little has been published previously; one of the few well-known scenes is that of a harper, the upper part of which is now in Berlin.

The Tomb of Tjanefer derives additional interest from the fact that it is mentioned in the records of the investigations into the tomb robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty as one of those tombs entered and robbed. For several reasons, therefore, its proper publication is long overdue. It is a pity that the present volume falls short of what we may now expect in a full-scale publication of a Theban tomb. Here, principally, we are given good drawings of all the scenes, executed in the first instance by Professor Seele himself. He has used the now well-known technique of drawing on photographs developed by the Chicago Expedition for its work in the Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu and elsewhere. The final inking-in was carried out by L. J. Longley, a former artist on the staff of the Chicago Expedition. Knowledge of the scrupulous care that characterizes the Chicago method, enables us to assume that the plates give as true a record as possible of the scenes and inscriptions that survive. For practical purposes, however, there are two respects in which the plates could have been improved. In the first place there is the problem of the indication of damage to the wall. In the case of walls where great areas are damaged or lost entirely it would indeed be unnecessary and certainly unsightly to hatch on the plates all the damaged portions. The problem is, however, different in the case of inscriptions where the damage may be confined to single signs or small groups of signs. There are many places in the texts of the scenes reproduced in this volume where damage of this kind has occurred. To the student using the plates some small gaps might appear to be due to the inadvertent omission of a sign by the ancient draughtsman or the modern copyist; the former type of omission is not uncommon

in ancient inscriptions. Thus, on pl. 12, lower register, l. 10, we find ; are we to think that the

ancient draughtsman has omitted the stroke here or that the stroke has been lost? In a place like this a little discreet hatching (if the sign is lost) or a *sic* (if it has been omitted in antiquity) would soon satisfy the student. It should always be remembered in reproducing texts and scenes by line-drawing that the chief purpose is not to offer a work of art to a discerning public but to provide a form of the original that can be used with profit by the student. To that end the student should be given every assistance to interpret the drawings; hatching can be of great use, provided it is not used indiscriminately; so can the occasional footnote. The plates of this volume are unencumbered with hatching and footnotes. These omissions are the more to be regretted in a publication in which the introductory text gives so little help to the reader to understand the plates.

A second deficiency of the plates is the lack of indications of joins when the scenes on one plate continue the scenes on the preceding plate. The scenes of the south wall of the passage leading from the Broad Hall to the 'Shrine' are reproduced on pls. 30-33; there are no overlaps from plate to plate and no other indications of how they should join up. The problem is particularly acute between pl. 32 and pl. 33.

The tomb of Tjanefer, like other tombs of the late New Kingdom at Thebes, is decorated with scenes that are religious in character throughout. There are no representations of the activities of daily life. In the Court the subjects represented include the presentation of the deceased to various deities and other ritual activities such as the funerary banquet and the playing of 'chess' by the deceased. Further ritual scenes occur in the Broad Hall and these include parts of the funeral and burial ceremonies. In the Long Passage occur divisions of the Book of Gates. Pictorially, therefore, the tomb lacks much of the interest found in many of the earlier private tombs at Thebes; but there are, nevertheless, many things to interest the student, particularly the student of ritual matters. Some assistance, however, should have been given to enable the student to discover what the tomb contains. Many of the scenes, being badly damaged, are hard to interpret. On some walls it is not easy to discover the order of the events portrayed and the connexion between isolated, damaged, scenes. There are no explanatory captions to the plates and the introduction contains no summary of the scenes. In the case of a well-preserved tomb it is always helpful to provide the student with an account of what is represented. In the case of a badly damaged tomb it is quite essential to do so. The reader is therefore recommended to study the full summary of scenes in Tomb 158 to be found in the new Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, vol. 1, pt. 1.

The introductory text contains a description of the tomb and an account of Tjanefer and his family. The description is in two parts, the first dealing with the location of the tomb and its history in ancient and







the flat object, i.e. the earth, remains equally unclarified. In a well-known instance<sup>1</sup> Osiris is shown making a circle round the underworld (*dt*), and his action is denoted in writing by the verb *ḥnt*. Does this imply that the shape of the underworld was regarded as circular? I think not, for there is no suggestion of that elsewhere.

Sethe in his *Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne* (Sitzungsb., Berlin, 1928), 3 finds in P.Harris, 44, 4-5 an idea of the earth floating 'als eine Scheibe'<sup>2</sup> on the waters of Nun. The relevant expression concerns the action of Ptaḥ, who is said to have 'surrounded (*phr*) it (the earth) with Nun (and) the sea'. Whether *phr* here can be pressed to give this picture of the shape of the earth is extremely doubtful.

On this as on other matters Mercer does not claim to present detailed evidence; and if he possesses it, the reader will be piqued to have to go without it. When it is stated (on p. 64) that 'as the ancients regarded the earth on which they lived, it looked round and flat but not a globe', the assumption seems reasonable since the contour of the horizon suggests roundness. Yet when the Egyptians represented the horizon, or parts of it, in hieroglyphs, they did not suggest this contour at all; for some reason it was only sections of a hilly or mountainous horizon that were selected for depiction in hieroglyphic form.<sup>3</sup>

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

*An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours.* By RAYMOND O. FAULKNER, printed for the Griffith Institute by the University Press, Oxford, 1958. Pp. xi+41+60\*. 1 plate. 21s.

Mr. Faulkner here publishes with an introduction, translation, commentary, and transcription, the Ptolemaic religious text which he described in this *Journal*, 40 (1954), 34-39. The papyrus was presented by Sir Alan Gardiner to the British Museum where it bears the number 10569. The manuscript is tentatively dated to the third century B.C., and the internal evidence is said to point to a northern and probably a Memphite origin. Mr. Faulkner's presentation of the text shows his customary care and calligraphy.

He believes that the title can be restored as 'To Osiris in all his names'. There are invocations to many deities in the text and it is suggested that 'all the multitudinous beings and objects invoked were regarded simply as manifestations of Osiris, in whom all divinity was deemed to be concentrated'. The most striking example of such an idea might be the allusion in 16, 3, if the restoration is right, to 'Osiris in [all his] names of Ptaḥ', following several designations of Ptaḥ. It is noticeable, however, that in the other cases where the expression 'Osiris in all his names' occurs, the context deals specifically with names of Osiris; see 6, 26; 13, 7; 15, 19. An expression like 'Osiris in the towns and nomes where his *ka* desires to be' (8, 24) might suggest that all the places mentioned are claimed for this god; but we find also 'Geb in every place where his *ka* desires to be' (20, 22), and the same words are used of Nephthys, Thoth, Anubis, Isis, Nut, and Horus. After one long list of gods and goddesses in various places, the invocation is closed with 'the [gods] and goddesses in whose places Osiris rests' (10, 14). (Faulkner, p. 7, translates 'who accommodate Osiris in their places', taking it literally (n. on p. 30) as 'who make content'; but *hṯp* may well be singular and intransitive here, for its causative sense is not common, see *Wb.* III, 192. For the frequent use of *hṯp* with *m* of the seats of deities and cult-objects see *Wb.* III, 190.) Faulkner aptly suggests (p. 30) that the allusion is here 'to those deities who included a shrine to Osiris in their sacred precincts'. Such a gesture would point to the predominance of Osiris, but does not necessarily imply a process of Osirian pansyncretism. When fusion of gods is expressly indicated, as in the names Ptaḥ-Sokar (3, 29; 6, 14; 15, 22), Osiris-Sepa (4, 1; 6, 20), Osiris-Sokar (4, 3; 4, 7), Sokar-Osiris (7, 6), Osiris-Horus<sup>4</sup> (8, 2), Osiris-Atum (8, 22), Apis-Atum-Horus (10, 16), Ptaḥ-Osiris (15, 24), Nut-Ope (19, 7), Nut-Rere (19, 8), Thoth-Atum (21, 22),

<sup>1</sup> Bonnet, *Bilderatlas*, fig. 19; cf. R. T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, pl. 14 and p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. John A. Wilson in *Before Philosophy* (Pelican, 1949), 54, 'a flat platter with a corrugated rim'.



<sup>3</sup> See Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, Sign-list, N 25-28. Sethe, op. cit. 9, n. 1 points out that 'horizon' is only a makeshift translation of *ḥnt*. 'Hilly horizon of sunrise' (or, sometimes, 'of sunset') would be cumbersome, while 'Sonnenberg' excludes the sky element.

<sup>4</sup> This should perhaps be read 'Osiris-Sepa', taking the falcon with outstretched wings as a substitute for the flying pintail duck which is normal in the writing of Sepa although it is not used, admittedly, in the other writings found in this text (4, 1; 6, 20; 7, 7). At any rate Horus is not thus written in this text in any of the numerous instances.



Osiris-Hapy (25, 11), Osiris-Mnevis (26, 11), Re-Harakhti-Khopri (27, 13), it is Osiris who most frequently figures, although he is absent in several groupings. The expression 'Osiris in his form of Rē' (16, 13) may possibly refer to the *ba* of Osiris which was equated with the Heliopolitan phoenix: see Kees, *Götterglaube*, 407; it will not therefore imply general assimilation. An all-pervading Osirianism is suggested, *prima facie*, by the sequence (12, 21 ff.): 'Osiris of the gods. Osiris of the living. Osiris of all things'; but closer consideration shows that the last phrase really means 'Osiris in whatever connexion he is found'. Several allusions, indeed, present him as but one among many gods. The souls of Rē, Shu, Geb, and Osiris are named, for instance, in 17, 7 ff. and they are clearly regarded as on a par. Mention is made in 6, 1 ff. of 'the Excellent Souls who follow Rē, who follow Osiris, who follow Horus'; Osiris, be it noted, is not even given precedence.

One must reject, then, the interpretation that Osiris in this text is regarded as having assimilated all the deities and objects named. The increasing syncretism in which he is involved is expressed in specific relations and is not a universalized concept. His position here is not by any means comparable with that of Isis in P. Oxyrhynchus XI, 1380 or in Apuleius, *Met.* XI, 5. The same will be true of Spell 142 of the Book of the Dead.

A few comments may be added in relation to Faulkner's admirable commentary. In 6, 23 he wants to interpret *hsbd tp* as 'black-headed'. 'Black' is certainly an epithet of Osiris in the case of *kmy* (*Wb.* v, 130), cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 22, 359E (μελάγχρους). *hsbd tp*, however, is also used of Isis in the present text (18, 3), so that it seems doubtful whether it should be equated with the distinctively Osirian adjective.<sup>1</sup> *Tp* is here written  and one wonders whether the last sign has the value of the pronoun *k* as it often has in the Ptolemaic temple texts; cf. Fairman in *Ann. Serv.* 43, 229, no. 195. In spite of the frequent invocations in the text, however, the second person singular does not seem to be used, and Faulkner may be right in his suggestion that the sign 'is presumably intended to imply that Osiris's head was adorned with a uraeus'.<sup>2</sup> In 16, 26 Osiris is described as *m hn*, 'in the chest', and Faulkner takes this as 'an allusion to the legend describing how Seth murdered Osiris by shutting him in a chest'. But in 23, 8 the very same expression is used of Anubis. The reference is probably to the sarcophagus with which these funerary deities were associated. In 19, 8 Nut is called , whom Faulkner identifies with the hippopotamus goddess sometimes denoted by this word. Perhaps the first meaning of 'the sow' would suit Nut better here, especially as the previous line identifies her with the hippopotamus-goddess Ope; but this last point might, of course, favour the interpretation adopted.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

*Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style.* By BLANCH R. BROWN. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1957. Pp. 108, with 45 plates.


Much has been written about Alexandrian pictorial art, but seldom have students of this subject gone back to the only legitimate sources, the Hellenistic works executed in Alexandria which have survived. The principal reasons for this omission are the limited quantity and the inferior quality of the relevant material. Mrs. Brown rectifies this omission in a work which is not only scholarly but eminently readable.

Her starting-point is the Soldier's Tomb, which she considers in some detail both for itself and for its usefulness as a basis for chronology. Six painted slabs from this tomb are now in the Metropolitan Museum, and served to whet the author's appetite for her subject. The chronological importance of the tomb lies in the signed Hadra vases which it contained, for they can now be dated with a high degree of probability to the years just after the middle of the third century B.C.

In the second section the author examines all the extant sources of Ptolemaic painting and mosaics. The meagreness of the tomb-paintings is eked out to a certain extent by the polychrome painted vases; the mosaics are of higher quality and need no apology.

The third section attempts to define the nature of Ptolemaic painting. Strangely enough, Mrs. Brown's pictorial examination leads to a conclusion other than that of our literary sources. The features which we

<sup>1</sup> *Kmy*, it is true, is also used of Min: see *Wb.* v, 130 (9).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brugsch, *Reise nach der Grossen Oase El Khargeh*, pl. 25, line 1 'his uraeus  of true lapis lazuli' (of Rē).



should expect are not present; instead, it seems that Ptolemaic painting was part of the general Hellenistic *koine*, and, like most Hellenistic art, was subject to many different influences.

Scholars will be grateful that a difficult and uninspiring task has been tackled so successfully and with so light a touch.

R. A. HIGGINS

Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava VIII: A. H. R. E. PAAP, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.* Pp. x+127. Leyden, E. J. Brill. Price not stated.

In 1907 Ludwig Traube elaborated a theory that has gained a widespread measure of acceptance: he held that the abbreviation by suspension and over-written line of a number of words central to Christian thought (e.g.  $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$  for  $\overline{\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma}$ ), words for which he coined the term *nomina sacra*, developed out of a similar practice in Septuagint Greek, into which Jews had carried over from the Hebrew an expression of reverence for the unpronounceable name of God by leaving out the vowels. It is Professor Paap's purpose to test this thesis against the large accumulation of Greek papyri since 1907. Papyri offer evidence of scribal procedure at an early stage of development and are therefore a particularly valuable touchstone. Paap has assembled the evidence of 421 texts in which Traube's fifteen keywords occur, dated between the second century B.C. and about A.D. 500. His lists show that in early Christian writing (i.e. about A.D. 150-200) contraction was restricted to a small number of words which do not include the words especially characteristic of Jewish writings. There is therefore not merely a lacuna in Traube's chain of evidence, but a positive counter-indication: yet on the other side weight must be given to Traube's insistence that the method of contraction is quite unlike that used in either documentary or literary texts. Paap comes half-way back to meet him by admitting that this way of writing must spring from a realization that the name of God has a peculiar value, and concludes that even if Christians did not share the view that this name was not to be spoken, their habit of not writing it in full and their method of contraction may have been borrowed from the practice of Jewish circles in Alexandria. One wonders how the picture would look if extensive first-century texts had survived.

Paap concentrates on this central thesis. He does indeed raise the question whether different modes of contraction are characteristic of different scriptoria (p. 126), but believes that we have no means of discovering them if there were. Perhaps this is so: yet papyrus texts need not have been written at the places where they were found, and farther internal analysis might carry the search farther. In any case Traube's exposition and lists have enormous practical value as palaeographical discriminants. Here Paap's lists provide a new (and as far as I have tested them) trustworthy tool. They include most though not all of Traube's texts; since they contain so many private letters one is surprised at the absence of private letters from the Abinnaeus archive, used by Traube himself, pp. 49-50, which demonstrate the restricted usefulness of this class of evidence. Paap inevitably relies on editors for dating. The reader will remember that up to the 1930's there was a good chance that Christian texts would be dated too late; now the pendulum has swung the other way and they are dated too early (especially by the Geneva editors). Paap intends to enumerate the number of times each abbreviation occurs in each text, but sometimes he forgets, e.g. in his no. 132. He does not record the fact that this text is continued in PSI 1292 (published in 1951). The latest text included is, I think, the Bodmer St. John of 1956, and this is without the supplement which would have produced the unexampled  $\overline{\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon}$ , just as P. Bodmer VIII would have offered the new form  $\overline{\delta\upsilon\mu\iota}$ . It is hard to find any particular text in the lists, and a concordance would have been useful.

E. G. TURNER





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